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HISTORY

OF THE

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

IN TRENTON, N. J.

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE TOWN.

BY JOHN HALL, D.D.

MEMBER OF THE PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AND OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF NEW-JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, AND WISCONSIN.

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PREFACE.

It will be at once noticed that this volume introduces many persons, places, and incidents, as well as churches, that do not come strictly within the scope of its title. But I thought that it would contribute to the interest and usefulness, not to say the circulation of the book, to make it contain as much information as without positive incongruity could be collected from the materials that came before me, and which would probably not fall so easily into other hands.

I take the opportunity of asking to be apprised of the errors or omissions that may be discovered, and of any additional facts or documents relative to the history, which would make it more complete.

Having now fulfilled the request of many esteemed friends in the church and city, I leave the work in their hands, hoping that none will be wholly disappointed, and praying that the result may show that the time it has occupied has not been spent at all inconsistently with the obligations of my sacred office and my particular charge.

TRENTON, March 23, 1859.

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PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN TRENTON.

Chapter First.

Presbyterian Settlement of Central New-Jersey—Falls of Delaware.

1682—1700.

The territory occupied by the present city of Trenton lies so near the boundary between the Berkeley and the Carteret, or the east and the west sections of the Province of New-Jersey, that the history of its settlement is connected with that of both the original divisions. The advance of the Quaker colonists from the south and west, and of the Dutch and Puritan from the north and east, gradually peopled this central region. It is, however, to the policy which invited to East-Jersey the inhabitants of Scotland and Ireland that we owe the immigration,

which in the course of time, gave Presbyterian features to the religious character of its inhabitants, and made it "the cradle of Presbyterianism in America."* In the year 1682, when Carteret's interest in New-Jersey was purchased by William Penn and his eleven associates, the Society of Friends, of which they all were members, was the smallest religious denomination there. The few settlements that existed at the time—the whole population was not more than five thousand—were composed chiefly of families that had emigrated from New-England, Holland, and Scotland. As West New-Jersey and Pennsylvania were sufficient to absorb the Quaker interest, it was a matter of policy to place the new enterprise on such a foundation as would be inviting to persons of all creeds. For this purpose the twelve original proprietors determined to share their interest with an equal number of new adventurers. The leading varieties of ecclesiastical connections then prevailing in the mother countries of England, Scotland, and Ireland, seem to have been represented in the new body of proprietors, but most of them, whether Protestants or Romanists, and even the leading Quakers,

* Hildreth's "United States," vol. ii. chapter 17.

were connected with Scotland.* The Scotch and Irish Presbyterians and New-England Puritans, (many, perhaps most, of whom were Presbyterians,†) made the moral character of the Province. In July, 1684, a vessel from Leith carried one hundred and sixty passengers, and another from Montrose one hundred and thirty to East-Jersey. In that year Gawen Lawrie, the Deputy Governor, wrote from Elizabethtown: "The Scots and William Dockwra's‡ people, coming now and settling, advance the Province more than it hath been advanced these ten years." In closing a glowing account of the Province, he says: "I have none to write for me, but you must send a copy of this to Scotland." In another letter of the same month, the same writer remarks: "The Scots have taken a right course. They have sent

* The second set were a motley collection. The earls of Perth and Melford (Drummond) had apostatized to Romanism from the Church of Scotland on the accession of James II. "They did this," says Macaulay, "with a certain audacious baseness which no English statesman could hope to emulate." ("England," chap. 6.) They were, at the time of becoming proprietors in the land of toleration, persecuting in Scotland such as refused to testify against the Presbyterians. Barclay was a native of Scotland, became a Roman Catholic in Paris, was thereupon recalled by his father, and both became Quakers.

† See Hodge's "Constitutional History," part i. 22–39.

‡ "William Dockwra, of London, to whom London owes the useful invention of the penny-post." (Oldmixon.)

over many servants, and are likewise sending more. They have likewise sent over many poor families, and given them a small stock." James Johnston writes to his brother in Edinburgh: "It is most desired there may be some ministers sent us over; they would have considerable benefices and good estates;* and since it would be a matter of great piety, I hope you will be instrumental to advise some over to us." Peter Watson writes to a friend in Selkirk, (August, 1684:) "We have great need of good and faithful ministers, and I wish that there would come over some here; they can live as well and have as much as in Scotland, and more than many get. We have none within all the Province of East-Jersey, except one who is preacher in Newark; there were one or two preachers more in the Province, but they are dead, and now the people meet together every Sabbath-day, and read, and pray, and sing psalms in their meeting-houses." In January, 1685, Fullerton writes from Eliza-

* There appears to have been an early provision in some places for the ministry. Oldmixon says: "A year or two after the surrender, [of the patents of the proprietaries to the Crown, 1702,] Serjeant Hook purchased 3750 acres of land in West-Jersey, and gave the tenth part of it as a glebe to the Church. He was a Presbyterian; but I suppose glebe is as consistent with that denomination, as any other."—*British Empire in America*, i. p. 294.

bethtown to Montrose: "By my next I hope to insure sixty or seventy pounds to the parson, for we want a minister." In March, 1685, Cockburn writes to Scotland: "There is nothing discourages us more than want of ministers here; but now they have agreed about their stipends, there is one to be placed in New-Perth, Piscataway, Woodbridge, and Elizabethtown. They have a mind to bring them from Scotland." Among the emigrants who left Scotland in 1685, was George Scot, Laird of Pitlochie. It was the first year of the reign of James II., when already the nonconformists of England and Scotland perceived that they had nothing to expect under the new monarch but a continuance of the persecutions of which their country, for its faith's sake, had been the bloody field. "Never," says Macaulay, "not even under the tyranny of Laud, had the condition of the Puritans been so deplorable as at that time. . . . Through many years the autumn of 1685 was remembered by the nonconformists as a time of misery and terror. . . . In Scotland the King had demanded and obtained new statutes of unprecedented severity against the Presbyterians."* "Severe as the suf-

* "History of England," chap. 5, 7.

ferings of the non-conformists in England were at this period," says another historian, "they were nothing compared with that was endured by the poor Presbyterians of Scotland."*

George Scot advertised his project in the following terms:

"Whereas there are several people in this kingdom, who upon account of their not going that length in conformity required of them by the law, do live very uneasy; who, beside the other agreeable accommodations of that place, [East New-Jersey,] may there freely enjoy their own principles without hazard or the least trouble; seeing there are ministers of their own persuasion going along with the said Mr. George Scot; who, by the fundamental constitution of that country are allowed the free exercise of their ministry, such as Mr. Archibald Riddel, brother to Sir John Riddel of Riddel, Mr. Thomas Patterson, late minister of Borthwick, and several other ministers; it is hereby signified to all who desire this voyage, that the Henry and Francis, of Newcastle, a ship of 350 tons, and twenty great guns, Richard Hutton, master, is freighted for the transportation of these families, and will take in passengers and goods at Leith, and passengers at Montrose, and Aberdeen, and Kirkwa, in Orkney, and set sail thence for East New-Jersey, against the 20th day of July, God willing."

Scot sailed about the time specified, with near-

* Orme's "Life of Baxter," i. 294. And see Wodrow's "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland."

ly two hundred of his countrymen, but himself and wife died on the voyage.* Previous to his embarking he published at Edinburgh a volume of 272 pages, entitled: "The Model of the Government of the Province of East New-Jersey in America; and encouragement for such as design to be concerned there."† The Scottish Presbyterian, or one knowing he was writing to such, is at once detected in the elaborate and learned a - gument, which precedes all his statistics, to prove a warrant for colonization from the word of God. Among his points is that the wonderful openings

* Of the company brought over by Pitlochie, seventy-two are said to have been "prisoners, banished to the plantations," and "made a present to the Laird." Their crime was non-conformity; and on the passage, "when they who were under deck attempted to worship God by themselves, the captain would throw down great planks of wood in order to disturb them." The Rev. Mr. Riddel had already been imprisoned several years in England. After the revolution he sailed for England, (June, 1689,) but was "captured by a French man-of-war, and after twenty-two months' imprisonment in France, he was at lengt . exchanged for a Popish priest." (*MS. History;* citing *Crookshank's Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. 110, 428. *Cloud of Witnesses*, App. 337.)

† Only four copies of the original work are known to be extant, but it has been reprinted entire in the first volume of the collecti ns of the New-Jersey Historical Society, as an appendix to Mr. Whitehead's "East-Jersey under the Proprietary Governments." The facility and satisf c-tion of reading this interesting document, are much impaired by its being printed in the obsolete orthography and abbreviations of the original copy—a custom of our Historical Societies which seems to have very little to recommend it, even to the antiquary.

to the discovery of America, and the encouragements offered to Protestant nations, indicated the purpose of Providence that "he might at length cause the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ shine out to them as it did to other nations, after the sharp times of the bitter desolations thereof betwixt the Romans and them." In bolder terms than in the more public advertisement of his undertaking, he thus appeals to the religious jealousy of his fellow-churchmen:

"You see, it is now judged the interest of the government altogether to suppress the Presbyterian principles; and that in order thereto the whole force and bensill [violence] of the law of this kingdom are levelled at the effectual bearing them down, that the vigorous putting those laws in execution hath in a great part ruined many of these, who, notwithstanding thereof, find themselves in conscience obliged to retain these principles; while, on the other hand, Episcopacy is, by the same laws, supported and protected. I would gladly know what other rational medium can be proposed in their circumstances, than either to comply with the government by going what length is required by law in conforming, or to retreat where by law a toleration is by his Majesty allowed. Such a retreat doth at present offer itself in America, and is nowhere else to be found in his Majesty's dominions."

We find in this connection an allusion to the north of Ireland, which was fully realized in sub-

sequent years, in the contributions made from that quarter to the Presbyterian population of America.

"I had an account lately from an acquaintance of mine, that the Province of Ulster, where most of our nation are seated, could spare forty thousand men and women to an American plantation, and be sufficiently peopled itself. The gentleman who gave me this information is since settled in Maryland; the account he sends of that country is so encouraging that I hear a great many of his acquaintances are making for that voyage."

But it was not contemplated to establish the Kirk in New-Jersey. "Presbyter" of Britain was not, according to Milton, to be "Priest writ large" in America. "Liberty in matters of religion," said Scot, "is established in the fullest manner. To be a planter or inhabitant, nothing is required but the acknowledging of one Almighty God; and to have a share in the government a simple profession of faith of Jesus Christ, without descending into any other of the differences among Christians; only that religion may not be a cloak for disturbance, who ever comes into the Magistrature, must declare they hold not themselves in conscience obliged, for religion's sake, to make an alteration, or to endeavor to turn out their partners in the government, be-

cause they differ in opinion from them; and this is no more than to follow the great rule, to do as they would be done by."

Mr. Bancroft, after following the remark, "this is the era at which East New-Jersey, till now chiefly colonized from New-England, became the asylum of Scottish Presbyterians," with an eloquent sketch of the sufferings of that people under the attempt of the Stuarts to force Episcopacy upon them, asks: "Is it strange that Scottish Presbyterians of virtue, education, and courage, blending a love of popular liberty with religious enthusiasm, hurried to East New-Jersey in such numbers as to give to the rising commonwealth a character which a century and a half has not effaced?" "In a few years," he adds, "a law of the commonwealth, giving force to the common principle of the New-England and the Scottish Calvinists, established a system of free schools.... Thus the mixed character of New-Jersey springs from the different sources of its people. Puritans, Covenanters, and Quakers met on her soil; and their faith, institutions, and preferences, having life in the common mind, survive the Stuarts."*

* Bancroft's "Colonial History," chap. 17.

Robert Barclay was the first Governor under the new proprietary administration, (1683.) Although the office was given him for life, he was not required to reside in the Province, and, in fact, he never saw it, but was represented by deputies. Mr. Grahame, in his "Colonial History" says, under 1685: "As a further recommendation of the Province to the favor of the Scotch, Barclay displacing a deputy, (Lawrie,) whom he had appointed of his own religious persuasion, conferred this office on Lord Neil Campbell, uncle of the Marquis of Argyle, who repaired to East-Jersey, and remained there for some time as its Lieutenant-Governor." Campbell was followed by another Scotchman, Andrew Hamilton.

While Presbyterians were thus finding homes in the northern and eastern parts of the Province, others mingled with the settlements that were creeping up the Delaware on both banks, and scattering between the river and the ocean. The first church in Philadelphia (less than thirty miles from Trenton) was organized about 1698. There was a Dutch Presbyterian church at Neshaminy (twenty miles) in 1710. But the church in Monmouth county, originally called "the Scotch Meeting-House," better known to us as the

"Tennent Church," (thirty miles,) was formed of Scottish materials about 1692. Its first pastor was from Scotland.*

I have indulged in the foregoing retrospect for the purpose of showing the origin and general progress of the population that at length reached the more central region where the capital of the Province came to be established. And here I introduce, as a curious local memorandum, the earliest record to be found of a journey on what is now one of the two great thoroughfares between New-York and Philadelphia, by Trenton, but eight years before Philadelphia was laid out by Penn, and when the site of Trenton was only known as at "the Falls of the Delaware." William Edmundson, a minister of the Friends from England, made the following entry in his journal of 1675, after leaving Shrewsbury and Middletown:

* His grave is in the church-yard, with a Latin inscription, signifying: "The ashes of the very pious Mr. JOHN BOYD, pastor of this church of Calvin, are here buried, whose labor, although expended on a barren soil, was not lost. They who knew him well, at the same time prove his worth as rich in virtues. Reader, follow his footsteps, and I hope thou wilt hereafter be happy. He died August 30, 1708, the 29th year of his age." Mr. Boyd completed his trials with the Presbytery of Philadelphia September 27, 1706, and was ordained ten days afterwards. On the minutes of May 10, 1709, the following expressive record is found: "The Rev. Mr. John Boyd being dead, what relates to him ceases."

"Next morning we took our journey through the wilderness towards Maryland, to cross the river at Delaware Falls. Richard Hartshorn and Eliakim Wardell would go a day's journey with us. We hired an Indian to guide us, but he took us wrong, and left us in the woods. When it was late we alighted, put our horses to grass, and kindled a fire by a little brook, convenient for water to drink, to lay down till morning, but were at a great loss concerning the way, being all strangers in the wilderness. Richard Hartshorn advised to go back to Rarington river, about ten miles back, as was supposed, to find out a small landing-place from New-York, *from whence there was a small path that led to Delaware Falls.* So we rode back, and in some time found the landing-place and little path; then the two friends committed us to the Lord's guidance, and went back. We travelled that day, *and saw no tame creature.* At night we kindled a fire in the wilderness and lay by it, as we used to do in such journeys. Next day, about nine in the morning, by the good hand of God, we came well to the Falls, and by his providence found there an Indian man, a woman, and boy with a canoe: so we hired him for some *wampampeg* to help us over in the canoe; we swam our horses, and though the river was broad, yet got well over, and by the directions we received from friends, travelled towards Delawaretown, [probably Newcastle,] along the west side of the river. When we had rode some miles, we baited our horses and refreshed ourselves with such provisions as we had, *for as yet we were not come to any inhabitants.*"*

* "A Journal of the life, travels, sufferings, and labors of love in the work of the ministry of that worthy elder and faithful servant of Jesus

As "the Falls of the Delaware" was not only the first name given to the part of the river where Trenton was afterwards built, but was for more than a century used to denote the general locality, it may be well to notice that what is dignified by the term, is no more than the rapids of the current in the descent of about eighteen feet in six miles.* The association of the term has often led to the confounding of the Trenton ripples with the truly grand falls of West Canada Creek in New-York, which are called "Trenton Falls" from a village in their vicinity. This has given occasion to some ludicrous disappointments with travellers. It was probably the cause of the illusion of the English tourist in 1797, who "entered the State of New-Jersey and slept at Trenton, which we left before sunrise the next morning; a circumstance I regretted, as I wished to see the falls of the river Delaware in that neighborhood, which, I am informed, are worthy the attention of a traveller."†

Christ, William Edmundson, who departed this life the 31st of the sixth month, 1712." London. 1715. (Philadelphia Library, No. 668. 8vo.)

* Some pleasant associations must have lingered about the old name as late as 1824, when a Bible Society being formed in Trenton, the name was adopted of "The Bible Society of Delaware Falls."

† "Priest's Travels, 1793–7." London.

The translator of the work of Kalm, to be more fully quoted hereafter, raises the humble rapids mentioned by the Swede, to "the *cataracts* of the Delaware near Trenton."* Another Englishman, and president of the Royal Astronomical Society, pronounced, in 1796, that "these do not deserve the name of *falls*, being nothing more than a ledge of rocks reaching across the river, and obstructing the navigation for large vessels."†

* "Kalm's Travels, by Forster." London. 1770. I. 49.

† "Journal of a tour in unsettled parts of North America in 1796 and 1797. By the late Francis Baily, President of the Royal Astronomical Society." London. 1856. P. 115.

Wansey, the "Wiltshire Clothier," says in 1794: "In passing the Delaware with our coachee, we ferry within ten yards of one of the rapids, by which we are to understand that part of a river where the bed is almost filled up with rocks, chiefly below the surface of the water, which occasions the current to pass very quick, and make it dangerous to those who are not acquainted with the navigation. (*Journal of an Excursion*, p. 106.) In a work by Dr. Douglass, a Scotchman, but for thirty years a resident of Boston, the following description is given of the navigation of the Delaware river in 1749–53: "From Philadelphia to Trent-Town Falls are thirty-five miles; these are the first falls in the river, and the tide reaches up so high; these falls are practicable, and the river navigable with boats that carry eight or nine tons iron, forty miles higher to Durham iron works. . . . From Trent-Town Falls this river is practicable upwards of one hundred and fifty miles for Indian canoe navigation, several small falls or carrying places intervening." (*A Summary historical and political, of the first planting, progressive improvements, and present state of the British Settlements in North America.* By William Douglass, M.D. Boston. Vol. I. 1749. Vol. II. 1753. Vol. II., p. 312.)

It was at the Falls that Mahlon Stacy, a Yorkshireman, found the tract of land that commended itself as the most suitable site for a new settlement. He was one of the emigrants to Burlington (or Bridlington) in 1678, and being a creditor of Byllinge, he obtained from his assignees eight hundred acres, lying on both sides of the Assanpink, a creek which empties into the Delaware at Trenton. Here he took up his own abode, and built a grist mill. If, according to Smith's "History of New-Jersey," the first name given to the settlement at the Falls was "Littleworth," the disparaging title must have been disdained by Stacy, who pronounced it "a most brave place, whatever envy or evil spies may speak of it."*

In letters dated from "the Falls of Delaware"

* The only positive evidence I have ever found that the name Littleworth was actually used, is that of the Rev. Dr. Cooley, who states that he had seen a deed of two lots, lying east of Greene street, between Second street (now State) and the Assanpink, which were described as "being in Littleworth." The date of the deed is not given. It was probably the designation of some portion of the land too much exposed to the freshes of the creek to be as valuable as other parts. Smith's History, in the account of the great flood at Delaware Falls in 1692, says: "The first settlers of the Yorkshire tenth in New-Jersey had several of them built upon the low lands nigh the falls of Delaware, where they had now lived and been improving near sixteen years." It is to be hoped that there was nothing in the character of the settlers that suggested the application of Solomon's epithet: "The heart of the wicked is *little worth*." Proverbs 10 : 20.

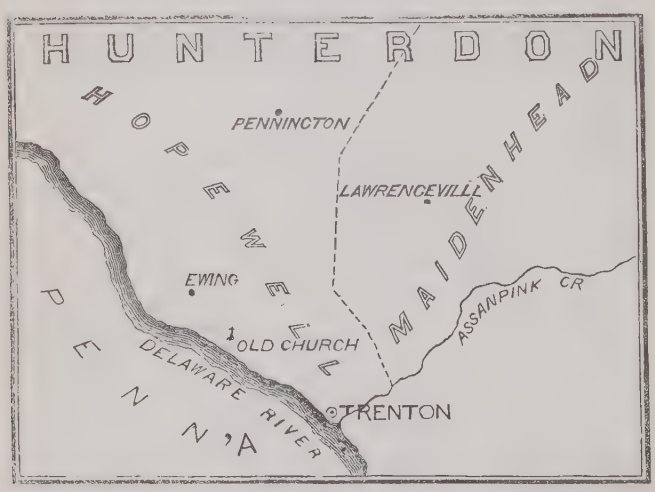
in 1680, Stacy extols the fertility of the whole region, the abundance of fruit,* berries, game, and fish, whilst he "honestly declares there is some barren land, as (I suppose) there is in most places of the world, and more wood than some would have upon their lands; neither will the country produce corn without labor, nor cattle be got without something to buy them, nor bread with idleness; else it would be a good country indeed." The good Friend would not overlook the guidance of Providence in his own case, nor encourage his Yorkshire correspondents to follow him over the sea, unless they felt the same inward direction. "When I am walking alone, and the sense of the Lord's good dealings is brought before me, I can not but admire him for his mercies, and often in secret bless his name that ever he turned my face hitherward, and gave me confidence in himself, and boldness by faith to oppose all gainsayers, though never so strong. . . . If you have clearness to come to New-Jersey, let nothing hinder; but if you have a stop within yourself, let not any thing farther you, until the way clears to your full satisfaction."

* "Peaches in such plenty that some people took their carts a peach-gathering. I could not but smile at the conceit of it."

Chapter Second.

The Churches of Hopewell and Maidenhead.

1698—1736.



This little map will serve to explain the topography of the region embraced in the history of the united churches of Hopewell and Maidenhead, which is the history of the churches of Trenton.*

* One of the most prosaic downfalls in the history of the change of names, took place when the ancient English term for maidenhood

In 1694 the Assanpink was made the northern boundary of the county of Burlington; and in 1714 the new county of Hunterdon was formed, reaching from the Assanpink, as its southern line, to the northern extremity of West-Jersey. Of this large and for the most part unsettled territory, now divided into several of the most populous and important counties of the State, Hopewell and Maidenhead were adjoining townships. It is reasonable to suppose that the Presbyterian inhabitants, scattered over the twin townships, were for some time dependent on itinerant or missionary preachers for the opportunities of public worship, and that when such opportunities opened, the people would congregate from long distances in school-rooms, or private houses, or in the shade of woods, in different neighborhoods, as convenience or some system of rotation might

was converted by the Legislature, in 1816, on the petition of the inhabitants, into Lawrence for the township and Lawrenceville for the town, in honor of the hero of the frigate Chesapeake. It would be a parallel improvement if the people of Virginia should drop the name of their State for one that would embalm the name of Captain John Smith. The original Maidenhead is a small town on the Thames, in Berkshire, and is partly in the parish of Bray; one, at least, of whose vicars is an historical personage. Not far from the town is Salt Hill, famous which scholars for the Eton Montem.

appoint.* It is not strange, on this supposition, that the names "Hopewell" and "people of Hopewell," should be used in the ecclesiastical records in reference to different neighborhoods, and even parishes, so that after the lapse of a century and a half it would not be possible to determine in every instance what particular locality, if any, is designated. The present churches of Ewing, Pennington, and Trenton were in Hopewell; that of Lawrenceville was in Maidenhead. It is not improbable that the Presbyterians in the latter township were sometimes included in the general reference of "Hopewell."

Some of my readers may need to be reminded of a New-England peculiarity which then obtained in this Province, and will still further account for the confusion. I may explain it in the words

* The two townships would have been a small circuit for a missionary, compared with some that were assigned in the last century by Presbyteries to Supplies and even to Pastors. In 1739 the Presbytery of New-Brunswick directed one of their ministers to divide his time among the people of Allentown, Cranbury, Pepack, Lebanon, and Muskinicunck. In 1740 Mr. McCray accepted a call from Lametunck, Lebanon, Pepack, Readingtown, and Bethlehem; and Mr. Robinson was directed to supply Middletown, Shrewsbury, Shark-river, Cranbury, Crosswicks, the Forks, Green's, and Pahaqually. In 1749 Mr. Chesnut was appointed to supply Amwell for four weeks, then Penn's Neck, then Woodbury, then seven Sabbaths at Cape May.

of Colonel (afterwards Governor) Lewis Morris, in 1700, when referring to the "towns" of East-Jersey. "These towns are not like the towns in England, the houses built close together on a small spot of ground, but they include large portions of the country of four, five, eight, ten, twelve, fifteen miles in length, and as much in breadth; and all the settlements within such state and bounds is said to be within such a township; but in most of those townships there is some place where a part of the inhabitants set down nearer together than the rest, and confine themselves to smaller portions of ground, and the town is more peculiarly designed by that settlement."*

The first authentic notice of any effort on the part of the inhabitants of the two townships to provide a permanent place of worship is found in a deed dated March 18, 1698–9.† In that instrument, Jeremiah Basse, Governor of East and West-Jersey, and Thomas Revell, "Agents of the Honorable West-Jersey Society in England," conveyed one hundred acres "for the accom-

* "The Papers of Lewis Morris." N. J. Hist. Soc., 1852.

† In this part of my researches I have availed myself of the collections kindly placed at my disposal by the Rev. George Hale, pastor of Pennington.

modation and service of the inhabitants of the township of Maidenhead, within the liberties and precincts of the said county of Burlington and the inhabitants near adjacent, for the erecting a meeting-house, and for burying-ground and school-house, and land suitable for the same."* The names of many of the grantees will be recognized as still represented in this region.

Ralph Hunt,
John Bainbridge, [or Banbridge,]
Johannes Lawrenson,
William Hixon,
John Bryerly, [Brearley ?]
Samuel Hunt,
Theophilus Phillips,
Jonathan Davis,
Thomas Smith,
Jasper Smith,
Thomas Coleman,
Benjamin Hardin,
William Akers,
Robert Lannen, [Lanning,]
Philip Phillips,
Joshua Andris, [sometimes Andrus and Andrews, and Anderson,]
Samuel Davis,
Enoch Andris,
Cornelius Andris,
James Price,
John Runian,
Thomas Runian,
Hezekiah Bonham,
Benjamin Maple,
Lawrence Updike,
Joseph Sackett,
Edward Hunt.

The strong presumption is, that from the beginning this was a Presbyterian congregation,

* Recorded Book B., No. 2, p. 655, in the State House at Trenton.

and that, although the precise year in which a church was erected on the ground thus conveyed, can not be ascertained, the first house of worship for any denomination in the two townships was that at Maidenhead, now Lawrenceville. John Hart, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was baptized by the Rev. Jedediah Andrews, at Maidenhead, December 31, 1713. As Edward Hart, his father, lived

in Hopewell, three miles below Pennington, it is probable that there was a church at Maidenhead to which the child was taken. There were ten baptisms at Maidenhead in April, 1713, which

goes to increase the probability of a permanent place of worship being there at that date. There is positive evidencce of its existence three years later, for in the records of the Court of Sessions for Hunterdon county, dated Tuesday, June 5th, 1716, is the entry: "Proclamation made and the court adjourned to the meeting-house in Maidenhead in half an hour."

I regret that I am not able to produce views of any of the original churches. The engraving here presented is a copy of the Lawrenceville church as it now stands, but excluding the lecture and school-building which stands at the extremity of the front of the lot, and excluding also the extensive grave-yard which surrounds the church. The present front (forty-five feet) and about thirty-two feet of the depth, is the same structure that was raised in 1764. The church was enlarged in 1833, to the dimensions of forty-five by sixty feet, and in 1853, fifteen feet were added to the length. I may add that in 1819 this congregation came into possession of a valuable farm and parsonage devised to them by Jasper Smith, Esq., an elder of the church.

The earliest sign of preparation for a church in Hopewell is found in two deeds of April 20,

1703.* In the first of these, John Hutchinson conveyed to Andrew Heath, Richard Eayre, Abiall Davis, and Zebulon Heston, a lot of two acres, in trust. The second and concurrent deed declares the purpose of the trust. It is addressed, "To all Christian people to whom these presents shall come," and sets forth that the trust is "for the inhabitants of the said township of Hopewell and their successors inhabiting and dwelling within the said township forever; for the public and common use and benefit of the whole township, for the erection and building of a public meeting-house thereon, and also for a place of burial, and for no other uses, intents, or purposes whatsoever." The ground thus conveyed is within three miles of Trenton, (marked "Old Church" on our map,) a short distance beyond the State Lunatic Asylum. A church was erected on this site which seems to have become the exclusive property of Episcopalians, as that denomination occupied it until St. Michael's Church was built in the town, and the congregation sold the ground in 1838—the house having long before disappeared.

It is probable that if the history of this

* Deed Book AAA, 105 and 114. State House.

Church could be ascertained, it would read somewhat like the following record in the Minutes of the Presbytery of New-Brunswick, September 19, 1738.

"The affair of Cranberry concerning the Meeting-house was opened up before the Presbytery, wherein it appeared that the people of the Presbyterian and Church of England persuasion have a conjunct interest in the Meeting-house, by virtue of an agreement between such of the Presbyterians as assisted the building of it, and their neighbors of the Church of England; and therefore upon the proposal of the rest of our persuasion who are not willing to have any concern with the said house upon that foundation, the Presbytery do advise and judge it most proper that the gentlemen of the Church of England do either buy or sell their interest, that so the Presbyterians may all have a house for worship by themselves alone, and so that this whole body may be united."

When St. Michael's Church made the conveyance of 1838, by which the old church-plot was added to a surrounding farm, reservation was made of an inclosure measuring thirty-two feet by twenty-seven, occupied by graves. The inclosure is made by a stone wall, now falling into ruins, and has the appearance of having been designed for a family cemetery. The only gravestones remaining are those of Samuel Tucker, 1789, and Mrs. Tucker, 1787, which will be de-

scribed hereafter; one "in memory of John, son of William and Elizabeth Cleayton, who died November 6, 1757, [possibly 1737,] aged 19 years;" another of "Ma——, [probably Margaret,] the wife of John Dagworthy, Esq., who died May 16, 1729, aged 37 years;" and a few more which can not be deciphered beyond "Grace Da——," or "Hend——," etc. It is said that the widow of William Trent, whose name was given to the town, was buried here, but there is no trace of the grave.

In less than six years from Hutchinson's deed to Heath and others, the Hopewell Presbyterians took measures for the erection of a church for themselves, within three miles of the one just described. This was the beginning of the congregation, which, after the foundation of the township of Trenton, (1719–20,) was called the "Trenton First Church," but which now takes the name of the new township of Ewing. The original deed was dated March 9, 1709, and conveyed two acres of land from Alexander Lockart, a Scotchman, to

Richard Scudder,	Jacob Reeder,
John Burroughs,*	Cornelius Anderson,

* The genealogy of the family of Burroughs may be found in Riker's Annals of Newtown, Queen's County, New-York," published in 1852.

Ebenezer Prout,	John Silerons, (or Siferons,
Daniel Howell,	Severance, Severns,)
John Deane,	Simon Sacket,†
John Davis,	George Farley,
Jonathan Davis,	Caleb Farley,
Enoch Anderson,	William Reed,
William Osborne,	Joseph Sacket.†

There are no original records or documents to remove the obscurity that surrounds the first action under this deed; but in the following minute of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, May 11, 1709, Hopewell may refer to this people—perhaps in connection with those of what is now Pennington:

"Ordered, that Mr. [Joseph] Smith go to the people of Maidenhead and Hopewell, and confer with them on such matters as shall be propounded to him by them, con-

The first of the name came from England to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1637, and died in 1678. His name was John. His son, Joseph, "a liberal supporter of the Presbyterian ministry in Newtown," died in 1738. Joseph's son, John, who married Margaret Renne in 1721, "owned land at Trenton," and died at Newtown, July 7, 1750. Mr. Charles Burroughs, who has been a trustee of our church since 1826, is a great-grandson of the grantee in Lockart's deed. His father, John Burroughs, died in Trenton April 28, 1842, in his eighty-ninth year.

† In Mr. Riker's work there is also given a history of the *Sacket* family, which appears to have been that with which the two grantees of the name, and also the clergyman hereafter mentioned, were connected. Simon was a family-name

cerning his being called to be their minister; and that Mr. Smith preach to the people aforesaid on his way to New-England, or return from it, or both; and that this be intimated to Mr. Smith, and the people aforesaid be writ to by Mr. Andrews."

The first church on this ground was built of logs, (1712;) this made room, about 1726, for a frame-building, which was used until 1795, when one of brick was erected. In 1839 the church was remodelled. The cut represents the church of 1795 before alteration; and here I take the liberty of quoting a few verses from a poem,

written for the amusement of her grandchildren by an estimable member of this church, and prompted by the destruction of one of two old oaks in the church-yard, in 1852.

* * * * * *

"Two hundred years, or more, the storms you braved
Unharmed, while round your head the tempest raved.
A faithful guard, for all that time, you kept,
Above the throng that 'neath your shadow slept.
The wild tornado's breath hath o'er thee past,
And prostrate on the earth you lie at last.

* * * * * *

And here they stood when the forefathers came,
To build an altar to their Maker's name.
Men from afar—perchance across the deep,
This place they chose their Sabbath rest to keep.
They built an altar of materials rude,
Unhewn the stone, and roughly dressed the wood,
'Twas blest of Him, whose promised dwelling-place
Is where his people meet to seek his grace.

* * * * * *

Once in three weeks the stated pastor came
With gracious message in his Master's name,
Reciprocated all the greetings kind,
Rejoiced in health and peace his flock to find.
The morning service o'er, beneath your shade
They ate their bread, and kind inquiries made:
'How fared it with the brother pioneers,
What were their prospects, what their hopes and fears?

What news from home, afar—beyond the sea—
Fight Hampden, Cromwell, still for liberty?
Or to his kingdom is King Charles restored?
Has promised, but again to break his word?
Has Scotland sheathed the sword, or does she still
For conscience' sake oppose her sovereign's will?
Worship the faithful still in caves and dens,
In forest deep, or wild secluded glens?
For Wales who strikes to put oppression down?
Who nobly dares to wear a martyr's crown?"

* * * * * *

One to the other thus the tidings bore,
Of clime and kindred they would see no more.
That duty done, once more to praise and pray,
The church they entered—thus they spent the day.

* * * * * *

'Time levels all,' the old church passed away,
It served a holy purpose in its day;
And faithful men a new foundation laid,
Offerings of patient toil and substance made;
Well wrought, the building rose by careful hands,
Memorial of their zeal, the church now stands.

* * * * * *

Now, many a mossy stone the name discloses
Of faithful Reeds and Scudders, Howells, Roses,
Reeder, Clarke, Hart, Carle, Furman, and the Moores,
Fish, Welling, Hendrickson, Temples, Greens by scores,
Lanning, Hunt, Cook, Burroughs, and Jones and Lott,
And hundreds lie without a stone to mark the spot."

* * * * * *

At the time of the formation of this venerable church, the Presbytery of Philadelphia was the only one in America. It was formed in 1704 or 1705, and included seven ministers, who were pastors in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and what is now Delaware. In 1706 a member was added from New-Jersey. To this body the Presbyterians, whether organized or not into congregations, or represented on the roll, would naturally look for counsel and aid, especially for the obtaining of the ordinances of worship. In September, 1710, the Presbytery, writing to the Presbytery of Dublin and Synod of Glasgow, in entreaty for their help in furnishing ministers, say that they have but two congregations "in the Jerseys;" "the number of our ministers from the respective Provinces is ten in all; three from Maryland, five from Pennsylvania, and two from East-Jersey."

Under date of September 27, 1711, the following minute appears:

"Upon the desire of the people of Maidenhead and Hopewell, signified by Mr. William Yard, for our assisting them in getting a minister, it was agreed that in case the people of Maidenhead and Hopewell are not engaged with Mr. Sacket, that they use all opportunities they have for a

speedy supply, and apply themselves to the neighboring ministers for assistance in getting a minister for them."

There is no further reference in the Records of Presbytery, to the congregations of this neighborhood until September, 1715, when Philip Ringo presented a call from Maidenhead and Hopewell to Mr. Robert Orr, which was approved by Presbytery, accepted by him, and his ordination appointed for October 20. This took place on the day specified, when Mr. Orr was "solemnly set apart to the work of the ministry, by Masters Andrews, Morgan, Dickinson, Evans, and Bradner, at Maidenhead, before a numerous assembly."*

As an old tablet, now in the wall of the first church in the city of Trenton, gives 1712 as the year in which the Presbyterian church was "Formed," that is supposed to be the date when the parent congregation was formally organized in view of taking possession of the ground conveyed by Lockart in 1709. This then, would be one of the centres of Mr. Orr's ministry for Hopewell. He appears to have resided on what is now the boundary line between the townships

* Letter Book of Presbytery. Printed Records, p. 41.

of Lawrence and Ewing. A son of his, who died during his pastorate, was buried in the Lockart ground, and the grave-stone is visible from the present church. Mr. Orr remained in this charge nearly four years. His name occurs for the last time in ecclesiastical records, in the minutes of Synod, September 19, 1719, where he is spoken of as "having at present no pastoral charge," and the usual testimonials were given to him and another minister, it "being uncertain how and where Providence may dispose of them."

The age of the Hopewell church at Pennington is not precisely known, but the building was used in 1725–6, as the township records of March 9 of that year show that it was "agreed upon by the majority of the town, to hold their town-meetings ensuing at the new meeting-house by John Smith's." Smith is known to have been owner of the land adjoining the lot which is still the site of the church. There is a tradition that prior to the building of a church, a school-house was used for some time, which stood on what is now the southern part of the grave-yard, and long known as "the school-house lot." This lot was conveyed by John Smith for the consideration of ten pounds, to Nathaniel Moore, William

Cornwell, John Everitt, Ralph Hunt, Jonathan Furman, Reuben Armitage, and Stephen Baldwin.

The Rev. Robert Orr was followed in the Hopewell charge by the Rev. Moses Dickinson, a younger brother of the first President of the College of New-Jersey, and a graduate of Yale when the whole senior-class numbered but five, all of whom entered the ministry. This was in 1717, the year in which the College was removed from Saybrook to New-Haven. The history of Mr. Dickinson's Presbyterial connection can not be given, as the Records of that period are not extant; but according to the minutes of the Synod he attended the sessions of that body in 1722, 1724, and 1725. Among the delegates of those three years appears the name of Enoch Armitage, who was a Ruling Elder of Hopewell. Mr. Dickinson removed to the Congregational church of Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1727, and continued to be its pastor until his death, May 1, 1778, in the 83d year of his age, and 51st of his ministry. In his seventieth year he took a colleague from the Presbytery of New-Brunswick, the Rev. William Tennent, Junior. There are two printed sermons of Mr. Dickinson's: one of them was preached at the ordination of the Rev.

Elisha Kent, grandfather of the distinguished Chancellor of New-York.

Mr. Armitage, who was a native of Yorkshire in England, was an active elder. He officiated in Hopewell when no minister was present, not only in reading "the works of approved divines," as our elders and deacons are authorized to do in such an emergency, but occasionally reading his own compositions. The Rev. Mr. Hale has in his possession a manuscript of the usual length of a sermon, in the handwriting of Mr. Armitage, headed, "Some Meditations upon the 15th, 16th, and 17th verses of the 27th chapter of Numbers, occasioned by the removal of Mr. Dickinson, and delivered at Hopewell meeting-house by E. A., 1727." The text of the "meditations" is: "And Moses spoke unto the Lord, saying, Let the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, set a man over the congregation, which may go out before them, and which may go in before them, and which may lead them out, and which may bring them in: that the congregation of the Lord be not as sheep, which have no shepherd."

The discourse opens in these modest terms:

"Beloved Friends: I having no book of any subject suitable to the present outward circumstances of the con-

gregation, and being something more than ordinarily affected with our present desolate condition, I thought meet to deliver my own meditations on the forementioned subject, though I know not whether they will be of any use to you, or meet with acceptance from you; yet hoping they may at least do no harm to any, and presuming on your favorable construction, and being encouraged by your kind acceptance of what I have been enabled to do in your service, since Divine Providence cast my lot amongst you, I therefore humbly proceed to deliver my meditations on these words."

I quote the annexed paragraph from the Meditations for the sake of the intimation it contains that there was more than one place of worship within reach of the people of Hopewell—the reference being probably to Maidenhead; Mr. Armitage's farm was within a mile of Pennington.

"Now this being the case of this congregation, we are as sheep that have no shepherd by the removal of our minister from us: and whether the same Providence that removed him, notwithstanding all our endeavors to the contrary, will permit his return, as some hope, I know not: but as however that may be, as affairs now stand, it seems likely that *some part of the congregation* will be as sheep that have no shepherd, therefore I hope," etc.

Mr. Dickinson was followed in 1729 by the Rev. Joseph Morgan. He is supposed to have come from Wales, but was educated at Yale, and

was one of the six first graduates in 1702. President Woolsey, in a letter to Mr. Hale, remarks that "some interest is attached to Mr. Morgan from the fact that he was not only one of the members of the first class in Yale College, but also the only one of the class who did not also take his degree at Harvard, that is, the only one veritably educated at Yale alone." He came into New-Jersey from Greenwich, Connecticut, in 1710, and was pastor at Freehold from that time until called to the united congregations of Hopewell and Maidenhead.

In the "Presbyterian Magazine" of November, 1857, is preserved a long letter from Morgan to Dr. Cotton Mather, written at Freehold in September, 1721. It is wholly in Latin, and in such Latin as might be expected from the circumstances it describes. "For," he says, "I spent only three years in the study of languages and the arts, and, for twenty-five years I have labored almost constantly with my hands. A Latin, Greek, or Hebrew book I have sometimes not had in my hands for a whole year. I have scarcely any books: possess no dictionary but an imperfect Rider. I have no commentaries, nor theological systems nor histories. I have no

leisure for reading, nor for writing discourses for the church, and often know not my text before the Sabbath." The letter is chiefly in reference to some physical and metaphysical arguments against Deists, Socinians, and other heretics, which Morgan had sent to Mather some months before, but which had not been acknowledged. He incidentally mentions that "in Hopewell and Maidenhead, thirty miles distant, where the Rev. Moses Dickinson preaches, there is a great increase of the church."

Whether there were any unfavorable rumors in regard to Mr. Morgan when he came from New-England, is not certain; but he seems to have been received by the Presbytery with some caution. On the 21st September, 1710, a committee was appointed "to inquire into Mr. Morgan's and [Paulus] Van Vleck's affair, and prepare it for the Presbytery." In the afternoon the committee reported on "Mr. Morgan's case," and "after debating thereon" he was admitted to the Presbytery. There was "serious debating" upon Van Vleck's case before he was received. Within two years Van Vleck, (who was settled with the Dutch Presbyterian congregation at Neshaminy,) was found guilty of bigamy and other

offenses. Mr. Morgan's irregularities begin to be noticed in 1716, when his "absence this and several years by-past being inquired into, it was resolved that a letter should be writ, informing him that if he comes not, nor sends sufficient reasons against next year, we shall take it for granted that he has altogether deserted us." It was at this session that the Presbytery of Philadelphia divided itself into three, (Philadelphia, Newcastle, and Long Island,) and formed the Synod of Philadelphia, and there being no minutes of the Presbytery extant after 1716 until 1733, the further history of this part of Morgan's delinquency is not traceable. He appeared at Synod in 1717, and was a punctual and active attendant for several years. In 1728 "divers papers of complaint" against him were presented to the Synod by some members of his church. Of the seven charges one related to astrological experiments, another to dancing, and a third to intemperance. The Synod judged that, though Mr. Morgan may have been imprudent in some particulars, the accusations proceeded from a "captious and querulous spirit;" and as to the charge of intemperance, "it appears to the Synod to be a groundless prosecution against one who

has ever been esteemed a temperate man." But on this head the Synod were probably too charitable, as in 1736, when Morgan had been settled in Hopewell for some seven years, he was tried by the Presbytery and found guilty of intemperance, and suspended. A reference from the Presbytery to the Synod in May, 1737, led to the directing of the Presbyteries of Philadelphia and East-Jersey* to meet as a committee at Maidenhead in August, and review the case. After this resolution was adopted, a paper was presented by Enoch Armitage, the preacher of the "Meditations," "signed by many hands of the congregations of Hopewell and Maidenhead, requesting that, since Mr. Morgan is not likely to be useful any more as a minister among them, from his repeated miscarriages, if the Synod should see cause to restore him to his ministry, he might not be

* The Presbytery of East-Jersey was formed by the Synod in 1733, by dividing the Presbytery of Philadelphia. In 1738 the Presbyteries of East-Jersey and Long Island were united as the Presbytery of New-York. On a subsequent day of the same sessions, (May 25, 1738,) the Presbytery of New-Brunswick was formed out of the Presbytery of New-York. Its bounds were "all to the northward and eastward of Maidenhead and Hopewell unto Raritan river, including also Staten-Island, Piscatua, Amboy, Boundbrook, Baskingridge, Turkey, Rocksiticus, Minisink, Pequally, and Crosswicks." (Printed "Records," pp. 104, 134, 136.) This left our churches in the Presbytery of Philadelphia.

reïnstated as their minister." Upon this the Synod came to the decision: "That the people of Hopewell and Maidenhead be left at their liberty to entertain Mr. Morgan as their pastor or not, even supposing the committee appointed to meet on his affair in August, should see cause to restore him to the ministry; only the Synod enjoins the people to pay to Mr. Morgan what arrears are due to him for time past."* The committee left him under suspension, which continued until 1738, when the Presbytery restored him, but his name is not found again on the records as present after 1739.

During Mr. Morgan's pastorate—1729–1736—his residence was near Maidenhead church. In the course of that time the people of Hopewell opened a subscription for the purchase of a parsonage, or as they expressed it, "a plantation to be a dwelling-place at all times" for the minister of "the Presbyterian society in that town," [township.] If the subscription should admit of it, a Latin school was to be founded on the plantation. Mr. Hale, from whose collections I obtain these facts, thinks it "probable that this resulted in

* Records of the Presb. Church. The minutes of the committee are inserted under the date of the Synod's session of May 24, 1738.

the purchase of the parsonage-farm on the west side of the Scotch road, where for so many years resided the Rev. John Guild and the Rev. Joseph Rue, successively pastors of the First Presbyterian Church of Hopewell and Pennington."

As names help to identify localities, and preserve other historical traces, I subjoin a list of the subscribers to the parsonage:

Timothy Titus,
William Lawrence,
Thomas Burrowes, Jr.,
John Branes,
Cornelius Anderson,
Benjamin Severance,
Francis Vannoy,
Jonathan Moore,
Edmund Palmer,
Alexander Scott,
Edward Hunt,
Thomas Hendrick,
Robert Akers,
Peter La Rue,
John Fidler,
Andrew Milbourn,
Roger Woolverton,
Benjamin Wilcocks,
Johannes Hendrickson,
Henry Oxley,
Roger Parke,
John Parke,
Ralph Hunt,
Joseph Hart,
Abraham Anderson,
Bartholomew Anderson,
Joseph Price,
Ephraim Titus,
Robert Blackwell,
Ralph Hunt, Jr.,
Richard Bryant,
Jonathan Stout,
Jonas Wood,
Thomas Read,
John Hunt,
Jonathan Furman,
Samuel Furman,
John Carpenter,
Samuel Hunt,
Nathaniel Moore,
George Woolsey,
Jonathan Wright,
Caleb Carman,
Elnathan Baldwin.

Chapter Third.

The Trenton Church: The Rev. David Cowell.

1714—1738.

Heretofore the principal settlements of Hopewell were at some distance from the "Falls of the Delaware." But now the enterprise of William Trent opened the way for the secular and ecclesiastical progress of the township in another direction. Mr. Trent had come to Pennsylvania from Inverness, in Scotland, but belonged to the Church of England. He was a merchant in Philadelphia, and notwithstanding his unprofessional occupation, was for many years a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State, and Speaker of the House of Assembly, and withal is called "Colonel."* Mr. Trent, in 1714, bought Mahlon

* In that inexhaustible entertainment for the local antiquary, "Watson's Annals of Philadelphia," is a history and engraving of the house occupied by Col. Trent in Philadelphia from 1703 to 1709. It is the house still standing (1858) at the corner of Second street and Norris' alley and was first inhabited by William Penn; (*Annals*, Edition of 1850.

Stacy's tract of eight hundred acres, on both sides of the Assanpink creek, and some time afterwards removed his residence thither. He soon fell into the same lines of public life which he had left in the sister province, for he represented Burlington county in the Legislature of 1721; was Speaker in 1723; and in the same year was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He died, however, in the first year of his office, December 25, 1724.

That "Trent's-town," or "Trent-town," was growing to a respectable condition, is indicated by the direction of the Governor in 1719, that the county courts should be held here, and it became the seat of the Supreme Court in 1724. As the population thickened, the convenience of the people would call for a church within reach of a walk; and it is reasonable to suppose that before the time had come for building a new church, the Presbyterians in and near the town would hold religious meetings there, and might even erect some temporary structure which

Vol. i. 164.) In a Trenton newspaper of 1840 I have marked this announcement: "Died at her residence near this city, December 20, 1840, Mary, widow of Nathan Beakes, in her 79th year—the last person that had borne the name of Trent."

would afterwards be properly regarded as the foundation of the new church. In tracing the deeds of the lot now occupied by the State-street church, there is an appearance of its having been long designed, if not partially used, for church purposes. In May, 1684, Mahlon Stacy conveyed to Hugh Standeland sixty acres on the north side of the Assanpink. His heir-at-law, in 1707, conveyed to Joshua Anderson one fifth of the same. This fifth, or twelve acres, Anderson in November, 1722, conveyed to Enoch Andrus. In April 10, 1727, Andrus conveyed a portion of his lot—one hundred and fifty feet square—for the nominal sum of five shillings, to

John Porterfield,	William Yard,
Daniel Howell,	William Hoff,
Richard Scudder,	John Severns,
Alexander Lockart,	Joseph Yard.*

The witnesses to the conveyance are John Anderson, Francis Giffing, and Daniel Howell, junior.

Now Enoch Andrus was one of the trustees in

* The deed is in the possession of our trustees. It is recorded in book AT., p. 108. The grant is described as "a certain piece or lot of land lying on the north side of Second street, that goes to the iron-works in Trenton, containing in length 150 feet, and in breadth 150 feet; with all the mines, minerals, woods, fishings, hawkings, huntings, waters, and water-courses." The iron-works were about a mile eastward of the church.

the deed of Basse and Revell of 1698–9 for the Maidenhead church; five of his eight grantees were signers of the call of the first pastor of the town church in 1736, which they subscribe as "inhabitants of Trenton belonging to the Presbyterian congregation;" Joshua Anderson was an active Presbyterian, living near the town; Lockart was the grantor, Scudder and Howell were among the grantees of the country church. All this looks as if a church-plot in town may have been long in view, although no specific object is mentioned in the conveyances. This, indeed, does not appear in the deeds until August 24, 1763, when Joseph Yard, sole survivor of the joint tenants, conveys the same lot to "the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Trenton, for the special uses and trust following, that is to say, to be and remain forever for the use of public worship and as a burial-place for the Presbyterian congregation of Trenton forever."* The joint tenancy was undoubtedly for the purpose of holding the lot for the congregation, which was not incorporated until 1756.

* The original is with the trustees; it is recorded in book AT., p. 114. The church first went by the name of "Anderson's Meeting-house." The fourth and fifth generations in descent from Enoch Andrus, (Anderson,) are now members of the city church.

Another portion of the lot was purchased in 1759. A deed of July 23, of that year, from Moore Furman, Sheriff of Hunterdon, conveyed to the Trustees a lot described as follows:

"Being lot No. 3, beginning at the corner of the Presbyterian Meeting-house lot of land on the north side of the street or road that leads towards the old iron-works, and from thence runs along the line of the said meeting-house lot north three degrees west, 2 chains and 14 links to the land of William Morris, Esq., and from thence runs along his line N. 87° E. one chain, 23 links to a post, being a corner of lot No. 4; and from thence runs along the line of the same S. 3° E., two chains and 14 links to the aforesaid street or road, and from along the same one chain and 23 links to the first mentioned corner or place of beginning."

This part of the present grounds was bought for ten pounds proclamation money, being sold under execution, at the suit of James Hazard and Richard Alsop, Executors of Nathaniel Hazard, against Benjamin Stevenson, Executor of Enoch Anderson.* The trustees took it "for the use and benefit of the said Presbyterian Church of Trenton, to bury their dead in, and for other public uses of the said Church."

* In the present church-porch is a grave-stone, "In memory of Enoch Anderson, who departed this life April 15th, 1756. Aged 59 years." In the church-yard hedge is the grave of "Margaret Anderson; 1733."

From this it appears that the purchase of 1759 was of a lot about eighty feet front; making with the lot of 1727, a front of two hundred and thirty-one feet.

The present dimensions of the lot, as surveyed in 1840, are:

South line, (the front,)	247 feet 9 in.
North "	241 "
East "	142 "
West "	126 "

Over one of the doors of the Church is a marble tablet thus inscribed:

"PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCH.
FORMED 1712,
BUILT 1726,
REBUILT 1805."

This memorial was transferred to its present place, from the brick church taken down in 1805; and the first two dates were copied from a similar inscription found in the stone building which preceded the brick. The date of 1712 is presumed to apply to the organization of the country church. There is more difference of opinion about the second line—some supposing it to be the date of the frame church on Lock-

art's ground, which superseded the log building first erected. But while the matter is not certain, the weight of probability appears to be in favor of the supposition that some kind of building was erected on the Andrus ground a year before he made the formal conveyance of 1727, and that this is the explanation of "Built 1726."

I am strengthened in this conclusion by finding that sixty-six years ago the tradition of the day was to the same effect. In a note prepared April 25, 1792, by the Rev. James F. Armstrong, in compliance with the call of the General Assembly for historical documents, and in which he refers to "Mr. Chambers and Mr. Benjamin Yard," as his authorities, is this statement:

"The first Presbyterian congregation in the county of Hunterdon was formed in the township of Trenton; and the church called the Old House was built about the year 1712, where the Rev. Robert Orr, a Scotsman, preached part of his time during three or four years; the remainder of his time he preached at Maidenhead, where a church was built about the year 1716. . . . The congregation of Trenton, in or about the year 1726, built a church in the village of Trenton, not as a different congregation, but for the convenience of that part of congregation in and near the town."

In this place may be appropriately inserted a

description of the original town church, furnished for this volume by my lamented friend and fellow elder, Francis Armstrong Ewing, M.D., whose departure from this life before the publication, will call upon me to introduce his name and character more fully in a later chapter. The engraving is taken from a drawing made by Dr. Ewing from the descriptions of those who remembered the first church.

The Old Stone Church.

"The old stone church, built in 1726—the first of the series—stood on the south-west corner of the church lot, on the same site as its succes-

sor, the brick one, but not covering so large a space. It fronted south on Second street, (now State,) standing a little back from the line of the street, and having a large flat stone before the door. Its front presented in the centre a large door-way, closed by two half-doors, on each side of which was a pretty large window, square-headed, as was the door; and probably over the door another window, though on this point there is a difference of recollection. The stones of the building, free of wash or plaster, showed only their native hue, or that acquired by long exposure to the weather. The roof, with gables to the street, was of the curb or double pitched kind, and was covered with shingles, each neatly rounded or scalloped. Entering the front door, a middle aisle, floored with wood, led towards the pulpit, which was at the opposite or north end. The first object reached was a settle, occupied during service by the sexton. Raised one step from the floor, was an inclosed space with desk in front, where stood the minister while administering the sacraments or hearing the catechism. Behind and above was the pulpit, of wood, unpainted, as was all the wood-work in the building, except the ceiling, having a sound-

board over it, fastened against the rear wall. In this wall, on each side of the pulpit, was a window corresponding to those in front. The pulpit-stairs rose from the pastor's pew, which was against the rear wall on the east side of the pulpit. A gallery ran round the front and two sides, the stairs to which rose in the front corners. Between the front door and these corner stairs were two square pews on each side, of unequal size, over the one of which, nearest the stairs, was one of the front windows. Before these pews was a cross-aisle, leading to the stairs and to the side-aisles. These were narrower than the middle one, and led to the north wall. All the pews against the walls were square, and, like all the others, had the usual high, straight backs of the time. Sitting in church was not then the easy, cushioned affair of modern days. Two square pews against the rear wall; four on each side, the fourth from the front being in the corner, and the four on the front completed the number of fourteen. The rest of the floor was occupied by narrow pews or slips, opening into the side and middle aisles. The ceiling was wooden, curved in four ways, (the lines of junction rising from the corners,) and painted in a

sort of clouded style, blue and white, intended to represent the sky and clouds, if the childish impressions of one of my informants have not thus mistaken the mottled results of time and dampness.

"While the old church was standing, there was a tradition that there was a vault under the building, but it was not known where. When the house was taken down the vault was discovered, containing two coffins with plates, and other evidences that the bodies were those of persons of standing and importance. In the brick church, in the floor within the railing before the pulpit, was a trap-door, which was said to lead to this vault. The vault was covered over when the present church was built, and is embraced in one of the burial lots in the space where the old house stood.*

"The old church was rich enough to own a bier, which, except during service and when not in use, was kept in the middle aisle. There was no pulpit Bible; the pastor's family Bible supplied its place, being taken to church in the morning and carried back after the afternoon service. This return being once neglected, and

* The mystery of the vault will be explained in a later chapter.

the book being needed in the evening, 'Black George,' the minister's boy, was sent to bring it. After a long absence he came running back, alarmed and agitated, saying he had stumbled over the 'pall-bearers,' meaning the bier. There was seldom service in the evening, and no provision for it; when needed, two large brass candlesticks, belonging to the pastor's wife, were put in requisition to enlighten and decorate the pulpit.

"In the yard behind the church stood a fine apple-tree, much resorted to for its shade, its blossoms, and its fruit, by the children from the school-house, which was on the eastern part of the same lot. This school was taught by Mr. Nicholas Dubois, who united in himself the offices of elder, teacher, and chorister; in which last capacity he had a place with his choir in the gallery.

"In the pews of the old church I have described, were gathered every Sabbath, to listen to the preachers of the olden time, the principal families of that day. Of these a few relics still linger among us, treasuring up the memory of others; while even the names of most of them are almost unknown to our present people. There

were Hunt and Milnor, the leading merchants of their time, whose names were for many years attached to the corners they respectively occupied, (now Norcross' and Britton's.) There was Leake, learned in the law, but of extreme simplicity and guilelessness; Smith, eminent as a physician and judge; Belleville, from France, at the head of the medical profession, and esteemed by the highest authorities in the neighboring cities; the elder Judge Ewing; and besides these, the Gordons, Ryalls, Haydens, Calhouns, Yards, Moores, Collins, Chambers, Woolseys, and others whose names and memories have nearly passed away. In another place will be found the names of eminent preachers, whose voice at times filled the old house.

"But all things come to an end, and so did the old stone church. Having stood for nearly eighty years witnessing the growth of the town almost from its beginning, and the stirring events of the Revolution, it was at length taken down in the year 1804, to make room for its successor. On the last Sabbath before its destruction, besides the installation of two new elders, the communion was administered. The solemnities of that occasion must have been deeply impressive,

for the language and manner of the pastor, and, indeed, the whole scene, are still spoken of, by some who were present, with strong emotion."

The Rev. Mr. Armstrong's memorandum, already quoted, proceeds to say: "After the founding of the two places of worship in the township of Trenton, Messrs. Hubbard, Wilson, and Morgan, unsettled ministers, preached in succession at Trenton and the old house; but their first settled pastor was the Rev. David Cowell." Morgan has already been mentioned in connection with the other Hopewell churches and with Maidenhead. Of Hubbard and Wilson, the date and duration of their ministries, nothing is known beyond Mr. Armstrong's record. It has been suggested to me that the first-named person may have been the Rev. Jonathan Hubbard, (the family name is sometimes spelled Hobart,) of Connecticut, who graduated at Yale in 1724, and died in 1765. He was a fellow collegian and townsman of the Rev. Dr. Richard Treat, of Abington, Pennsylvania. Dr. Treat was at the Synod of 1733, when the Trenton people applied for supplies, and the conjecture is that he may have obtained the services of Mr. Hub-

bard, who about that time discontinued his connection with the church of Eastbury, Connecticut.

There was a Rev. John Wilson, who, on September 19, 1729, according to the minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia under that date, "coming providentially into these parts, signifying his desire of being admitted as a member of the Synod, his credentials being read, and the Synod satisfied therewith, was unanimously received." He was afterwards employed at Newcastle, where some misunderstanding arose between his congregation and the Presbytery, which was referred to the Synod, (September 18, 1730,) who "judged that, as far as things appear to us, they (the Presbytery) are not chargeable with any severity to him, but the contrary." There was another Rev. John Wilson, a Presbyterian pastor in Chester, New-Hampshire, in 1734, who died there in 1779, aged seventy-six, and is supposed to have been a son of the first named.* One of these may have been the Trenton supply.

The township of Trenton was set off from Hopewell by the Hunterdon County Court of Quarter Sessions in March, 1719–20. The new

* Webster, p. 405.

township included the country (now Ewing) and town churches, so that the name of Hopewell did not properly apply to either of the parts of the joint congregation after that date, although from habit the term may have continued to be used, especially of the country church. The call of the Rev. David Cowell was made on behalf of the united Trenton church. The original document, in its ample sheet, and well engrossed by a clerkly hand, is before me, and runs as follows :*

"Whereas we the subscribers, inhabitants of Trenton, belonging to the Presbyterian congregation, being desirous to settle a Gospel ministry amongst us, and having had the experience of the ministerial abilities, and the blameless life and conversation of the Reverend Mr. David Cowell, do hereby unanimously call and desire him to settle amongst us, and to take the charge of this congregation as their minister. And we, the said subscribers, do herby promise and oblige ourselves to support the said Mr. Cowell with a maintenance, and otherwise to assist him as we may to discharge his ministerial function amongst us; as witness our hands the seventh day of April, 1736.

Joseph Higbee, Clotworthy Reed,
William Hoff, Christopher J. Cowell,

* For this and other papers I am indebted to Mr. John V. Cowell, elder of the Second Church, Philadelphia, who is a great-nephew of our pastor.

William Worslee,
William Reed,
Joseph Jones,
Isaac Joens,
David Howell,
Robert Lanning,
Jonathan Furman,
William Lartmoor,
Richard Furman,
Jacob Anderson,
Isaac Reeder,
John Porterfield,
William Yard,
Richard Scudder,
Ralph Hart,
Charles Clark,
Cornelius Ringo,
Samuel Johnson,
Joseph Yard,
Ebenezer Prout,
Richard Green,
Joseph Green,
William Green,
Francis Giffing,
Samuel Hooker,
John Scudder,
Henry Bellergeau,
Andrew Reed,
Ralph Smith,
Arthur Howell,
Peter Lott,
James Bell, Jr.,
Eliakim Anderson,
William Yard, Jr.,
Neal W. Leviston,
John Osburn,
Daniel Bellergeau,
William Peirson,
David Dunbar."

On the call is this indorsement:

" Trenton, April the 7th, 1736. The following persons, viz., Richard Scudder, Ralph Hart, Charles Clark, Samuel Johnson, Cornelius Ringo, and Joseph Yard, were appointed by the Presbyterian congregation present at Trenton the day above, to be a committee to present the within-named call to Mr. Cowell, and to discourse with him in behalf of the congregation, and his settling among us. Jos. Yard, Clerk, S."

There is also on the back of the call a memorandum by the hand of Mr. Cowell, "Recepi. May 1, 1736," denoting the day on which he was waited on by the committee.

Mr. Cowell, although then in the thirty-second year of his age, was only four years from college, and was still a licentiate. He was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1704, and was graduated at Harvard in 1732, the seventh year of the Presidency of the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth. Mr. Cowell was in college in disorderly times. In the September of his last year a committee of the corporation closed an eight months' investigation of the causes of the low condition of morals and study. The commencement had become the occasion of so much dissipation in the town and neighborhood, that for some years about this time it was held on Friday, and then with a very short public notice, so as to allow but the end of the week for its indulgence.*

I find no record of Mr. Cowell's reception to the care of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, nor of his licensure. They were probably in the lost minutes of 1732–3. On the 20th July, 1736,

* Quincy's "History of Harvard University," i. 388–392.

the people of Trenton supplicated the Presbytery of Philadelphia, to which they then belonged, for the ordination of Mr. Cowell. This was granted, and according to appointment, a committee of Presbytery met at Trenton on the second of November of that year. The committee, as present, were the Rev. Messrs. Jedediah Andrews, David Evans, Eleazer Wales, and Richard Treat. The Rev. William Tennent and Hugh Carlile were absent. The Rev. Jonathan Dickinson and John Pierson sat as correspondents, having been delegated on other business. In the forenoon of the first day Mr. Cowell was carried through his examination in theology. In the afternoon he preached his trial sermon from Romans 3 : 25, read his exegesis, ("An lex naturæ sit sufficiens ad salutem,") and was conversed with on personal religion and his motives for the ministry. The next day was observed by the congregation, according to the Directory, with fasting and prayer. At two o'clock the services of ordination and installment took place "in the public meeting-house at Trenton, in the presence of a numerous assembly," Mr. Andrews, of Philadelphia, preaching from 2 Timothy 2 : 2.

At this Presbyterial meeting an inquiry being

instituted as to what provision could be made for the vacant congregations of Hopewell and Maidenhead, (Pennington and Lawrenceville,) Mr. Cowell was appointed to supply the former as often as he could, and Mr. Wales the latter.

Mr. Cowell established his residence in the town. He was then, and continued through life, unmarried. In May, 1737, he was received in Synod, and at that session a supplication coming in from Trenton for an appropriation from the fund for the assistance of the feebler congregations, the sum of five pounds was allowed for the year.

I would be glad to give some notice of each of the signers of Mr. Cowell's call, but find it impossible to collect materials to any extent.

Cornelius Ringo was of the German family which gave name to the village of Ringoes in Amwell. Philip Ringo, of Amwell, in 1757 left four sons, Albertus, Henry, John, and Cornelius. Cornelius died at Maidenhead in 1768.

Peter Lott was a name of several generations. In 1721 one of them died, leaving five children, to one of whom, Peter, he bequeathed "six shillings" more than to the rest, and made him executor. He was of Hopewell. Peter Lott was a

witness before Presbytery in Rev. Mr. Morgan's case in 1737. In 1755, Peter Lott, of Trenton, had (as appears by his will) a nephew Peter, son of his brother Hendrick, and a nephew Peter Rappleje, and a third nephew, Peter Schanck. He had a brother Mewrice, or Maurice. He desired "to be buried in Long Island, where my father and mother were buried." In 1762 a Peter Lott, *Junior*, died at South-Amboy, leaving sons Peter, Daniel, and Gershom, and a daughter, Ruth; and in 1764, the legatees of Peter Lott, of Middlesex, were his grandson Gershom, and his sons Henry, Abram, George, and Charles.

John Porterfield died in 1738. His will, dated three years before, describes him "of Trenton, merchant," and devises a thousand acres on the south branch of the Raritan, and other property in East New-Jersey, "late recovered from John, Earl of Melfort," one of the noble proprietaries. It mentions his brother, Alexander, of Duchall, in Scotland, and a nephew, William Rollston, of the shire of Air, and "Boyd Porterfield, grandson to my brother." He bequeathed to another nephew, William Farquhar, "chirurgeon of Brunswick, all my interest in one third part of the forge at Trenton." John Kinsey, of

Philadelphia, Joseph Peace of Trenton, and William Farquhar were his executors.

Francis Giffing. A blacksmith of this name died at Trenton in 1749. His children were John, Martha, and Rebecca. His wife Margaret and Joseph Yard were the executors.

The Bellerjeaus are of French descent, and have their representatives still in Trenton. The name of Samuel Bellerjeau occurs hereafter, in 1770. One of the family was a physician.

Richard Scudder came from Long Island in 1704, and established himself on a farm on the Delaware, about five miles above Trenton, which is still possessed by his lineal descendants. His children were Hannah, Mary, Richard, John, Abigail, Joseph, Samuel, Rebecca, and Joanna, all of whom were baptized by the Rev. Jedediah Andrews, eight of them, together with himself, at one solemnity. He died March 14, 1754, at the age of eighty-three.

His son John, who also signed the call, died May 10, 1748, at the age of forty-seven. His children were Daniel, Amos, Prudence, Jemima, Jedediah, and Ephraim.

Daniel, the eldest son of John, died June 5, 1811, aged seventy-five. He was a trustee in

1786 and subsequently. His children were Rachel, Keziah, Abner, and Elias.

Elias, the youngest child, died February 20, 1811, at the age of forty-four. His children were Daniel, John, Jasper Smith, and Abner. The third of these is the present Treasurer of the city congregation, being of the fifth generation of the family.

Andrew Reed was a merchant in Trenton, and is probably the person mentioned in Governor Morris's Papers, as having caused an excitement in 1744, in consequence of his having been elected Loan Officer with some informality by the Justices of Hunterdon.* He was the first treasurer of the borough of Trenton upon its incorporation in 1746. He was made a trustee of the church by the charter of 1756, and served until 1759, when he removed to Amwell, where he died December 16, 1769. He was the father of General Joseph Reed of the Revolution, who followed him in the trusteeship in 1766. Mr. Andrew Reed resided for some time also in Philadelphia, and was a trustee of the Second Presbyterian Church in that city. He had a

* Papers of Lewis Morris, pp. 275, 303, 317.

sion during the incumbency of Governor Price. Lewis describes it in 1744, as "about half a mile from Trenton; a very healthy and pleasant place, parted by a small brook (Assanpink) from Trentown, the great thoroughfare between York and Philadelphia." He was not able to obtain a change in the seat of government; but in accommodation to his bad health the Legislature was summoned to meet at Trenton, and once at least at Kingsbury, in order to be dissolved in person by the Governor. He died there, May 21, 1746.

Governor Morris belonged to the English Church, and while a resident at his estate of Tintern, or Tinton, in Monmouth county, when President (1700) of Council had recommended to the Bishop of London, as necessary "to the bringing over to the Church the people in these countries," that none but "churchmen" should be placed in the high offices—that members of that Church should have "some peculiar privileges above others," and that no man should be admitted to a great benefice in England who had not preached "three years gratis in America." But his sectarian zeal had disappeared when he made his will: "I forbid any man to be paid for

preaching a funeral sermon over me; those who survive me will commend or blame my life as they think fit, and I am not for paying of any man for doing of either; but if any man, whether Churchman or Dissenter, in or not in priest's orders, is inclined to say any thing on that occasion, he may, if my executors think fit to admit him to do it."*

* "The papers of Lewis Morris," vol. iv. of Collections of the New-Jersey Historical Society, pp. 9, 325, etc. Morris's rent in Trenton was sixty pounds, ($160,) the landlord expending £200 "in putting of it into repair and building a wing for a kitchen to lodge servants." "The lessee might cut his fire-wood, but not of timber-trees." "Our house is good," writes the Governor in 1744, "and not one chimney in it smokes. I have not yet got into ploughing and sowing, having but little ground, and that but ordinary, and much out of order, but shall try a little at it, when I get it into something better fence, which I am doing."

Chapter Fourth.

Rev. Mr. Cowell and Rev. Mr. Tennent. Schism of Synod.

1736—1760.

Mr. Cowell's name appears in the minutes of Presbytery, first of Philadelphia, afterwards of New-Brunswick, as a punctual attendant down to 1746. From that year to 1762 there is a hiatus in the records, and there is no means of ascertaining what part he took in that judicature during the remainder of his life, beyond what transpires through the minutes of the Synod.

It is only from the proceedings of this court that we obtain information of a theological controversy between Mr. Cowell and the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, of the Presbytery of New-Brunswick, that is first mentioned in May 1738, at which time a large correspondence had already passed between them. From the tenor of the proceedings in three successive sessions of the Synod, it appears that Mr. Tennent suspected Mr. Cowell

of holding that doctrine, or some form of it, which makes the happiness of the individual the chief motive of religion. Not satisfied with the result of the correspondence, Mr. Tennent brought the subject to the notice of Synod, May 27, 1738, with a request for an expression of their opinion. The Synod appointed a committee, composed of Rev. Messrs. J. Dickinson, Pierson, Pemberton, Thomson, Anderson, Boyd, and Treat, to converse with the two controvertists together, "that they may see whether they so widely differ in their sentiments as is supposed; and if they find there be necessity, distinctly to consider the papers; that Mr. Tennent and Mr. Cowell be both directed to refrain all public discourses upon this controversy, and all methods of spreading it among the populace, until the committee have made their report to the Synod; and that no other member take notice of and divulge the affair." The committee finding that the debate was not to be settled by conversation, obtained leave to defer their report until the next Synod, and the Rev. Mr. Cross was added to their number.

On the second day of the next year's session, (May 24, 1739,) the committee were not pre-

pared to report. On the 25th the subject was again deferred—the Committee being probably engaged in private conference with the parties. On the 29th the report was presented; upon hearing which the Synod expressed their great satisfaction in finding the contending parties fully agreed in their sentiments upon the point in controversy, according to the terms in which the overture of the committee had embodied the doctrine. The committee preface the theological statement to which they had secured the assent of the disputants, with this somewhat caustic intimation:

"Though they apprehend that there were some incautious and unguarded expressions used by both the contending parties, yet they have ground to hope that the principal controversy between them flows from their not having clear ideas of the subject they so earnestly debate about, and not from any dangerous errors they entertain."

The committee then proceeded to harmonize the views which each of the polemics took of his favorite side of the problem. The substance of their statement is, that God has been pleased to connect the highest happiness of man with the promotion of the divine glory, and

therefore the two designs must never be placed in opposition.

The decision was made at the last sederunt of the meeting, when Mr. Tennent had not much time to weigh the terms of the report; but upon the reading of the minutes at the opening of the session of 1740, he expressed his dissatisfaction and asked for a reconsideration of the subject. After much debate upon this request, it was refused by a great majority.* Mr. Tennent's disposition was not towards concession. Neither his pen nor voice as yet gave promise of the future "Irenicum." As Dr. Finley said at his funeral, if an end seemed to be attainable, "he would not give up the point while one glimpse of hope remained." He subsequently alluded in the harshest terms to what he conceived to be the heretical standing of many of the Synod on the point of his controversy with Mr. Cowell. "His natural disposition," says Dr. Alexander, "appears to have been severe and uncompromising; and he gave strong evidence of being very tenacious of all his opinions, and not very toler-

* Records, pp. 138, 142, 143, 146, 149, 150. The proceedings are given in Dr. Hodge's Constitutional History. Part I., pp. 235-239.

ant of those who dissented from his views, as appeared by the controversy which he had with the Rev. Mr. Cowell, of Trenton, and which he brought before Synod."*

Our whole Church was now approaching one of the most exciting and tumultuous epochs in its history—an epoch signalized by the discordant epithets of "The Great Revival," and "The Great Schism," to which might be added, as their sequel, "The Great Relapse"—the times of Edwards, Whitefield, Wesley, Tennents, Dickinson, Blair, Davenport, and the parties, sects, and controversies with which their names are associated; times of fanaticism and censoriousness, yet also of awakening and reformation; the good of which has overbalanced the mischief—the Divine wisdom neutralizing the foolishness of men. A full and candid survey of the period from 1740 to 1758, and a discriminating view of what is pure and what spurious in the character of a "Revival," may be found in Dr. Hodge's volumes on the "Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church." All that pertains to my limited purpose may be compressed in a few paragraphs.

* "Log College," chap. iv.

Both in this country and Great Britain, the piety of the Church, its ministry and laity, was in a languid condition. In some parts this was accompanied with, or caused by, a looseness in doctrinal opinion. The first marked symptoms of improvement appeared at Freehold, New-Jersey, in the congregation under the care of the Rev. John Tennent, and throughout his brief ministry from 1730 to his death in 1732. Under the itinerating ministry of the Rev. John Rowland, in Maidenhead, Hopewell, and Amwell, similar effects appeared a few years later, and most conspicuously in 1740. In Elizabethtown, Newark, New-Brunswick, and other parts of New-Jersey, as well as in the neighboring Provinces, and in Virginia and New-England, the "awakening" was remarkably extended and decided. In the year 1738, Whitefield first appeared in America, and repeated his visits at intervals until his death at Newburyport in 1770. His extraordinary preaching and inexhaustible enthusiasm served to increase and diffuse the religious fervor that had already made its appearance, while the irregularities of his measures, and the marks of fanaticism that characterized his language and conduct, excited the mistrust of some of the most

pious and judicious, as to the ultimate effect of his course.

It was the excitement, both good and bad, attending the movements just referred to, that led some of the most zealous ministers to disregard formalities and regulations which they supposed were impediments in the way of attempting what the times required. In 1737, the Synod of Philadelphia, the only Synod and the highest court of the Church, prohibited the intrusion of the ministers of one presbytery within the bounds of another. The main object of this law was to prevent itinerant ministers from producing confusion by preaching in parishes uninvited by the proper minister. Again, in 1738, the Synod directed that every candidate for the ministry should present to the Presbytery to which he applied, a diploma of graduation, or an equivalent certificate of scholarship from a committee of the Synod. In that year the Synod had formed out of the Presbyteries of New-York and Philadelphia, the Presbytery of New-Brunswick. All the churches and ministers to the north and east of Maidenhead and Hopewell, with some others, were united in the new Presbytery. On the first day of its consti-

tution, it deliberately disregarded the latter rule, and licensed a candidate without diploma or certificate. The Synod pronounced this act disorderly, and refused to recognize the licentiate. In reply, the Presbytery, led by the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, stated their objections to both of the above-named rules, as infringing on Presbyterial rights and transgressing Synodal authority.* The Synod slightly modified the rule of examination, but adhered to its principles. The Presbytery persisted in their contumacy, ordained the very probationer (Rowland) that they had irregularly licensed, and continued to license in the old way.

The Hopewell family of churches became involved in the schismatic proceedings. Hopewell and Maidenhead, still in the Presbytery of Philadelphia, supplicated the new Presbytery for Mr. Rowland as their supply, which was granted. The Presbytery of Philadelphia, which had,

* Mr. Tennent's warmth was undoubtedly increased by his belief that the cautiousness of the Synod in regard to the scholarship of candidates, arose from a want of confidence in the accomplishments of the pupils of the Neshaminy Academy, established by his father. The arts and sciences were not thought to be as well taught there as the classics. Thus, Dr. Alexander remarks that the schism "was actually produced by the Log College." (Log College, p. 57.) Rowland was educated there, and of course, by the Synod's rule, was subject to examination.

through Mr. Cowell, informed Rowland that they adhered to the Synod's view of his defective standing, and advised him not to preach at Hopewell, now refused to allow him to minister in their jurisdiction. Thereupon the people who favored Rowland, asked the Philadelphia Presbytery to form them into a separate congregation. This was consented to, provided they would not erect a new church without the consent of the other part of the congregation to its location.* Upon this agreement they were set off. The new congregation at once asked to be dismissed to the more congenial Presbytery of New-Brunswick. The Presbytery insisted upon their first complying with the condition on which they were set off. The people complained of this decision to Synod,

* The old congregation were represented by Enoch Armitage, Thomas Burrowes, Edward Hart, and Timothy Baker; the "new erection" by Benjamin Stevens, John Anderson, Samuel Hunt, and Joseph Birt. "We had the privilege," wrote Rowland, "minister at Hopewell," "of Maidenhead meeting-house, [1738.] and my people built a meeting-house in Hopewell. There is another town [township] lying contiguous to Hopewell, which is called Amwell. They petitioned for a part of my time, viz., one Sabbath in three." William Tennent writes in October, 1744: "About four weeks since I gathered a church, and celebrated the Lord's Supper at a new erected congregation in the towns of Maidenhead and Hopewell." ("Gillies' Collections," ii. 137, 323.) This was a mile west of Pennington, and was but a temporary secession, both parties reuniting afterwards in the old church, probably in 1766.

which (1739,) wholly sustained the Presbytery, and provided for their (the Presbytery's) fixing the place of the new house; but none of the parties submitted to its judgment.

Matters became still more complicated as the Synod endeavored to compromise the points in debate. Gilbert Tennent, with his characteristic harshness and uncharitableness, formally attributed the objectionable rules of the Synod, and its adherence to them, to doctrinal unsoundness and want of piety. Mr. Blair followed in the same strain. Tennent encouraged the schismatic tendencies of the Synod's opponents by a bold sermon at Nottingham, exciting the disaffected to withdraw from the ministry of those whom he condemned. It was fruitful in alienations and divisions.

The Synod met in 1741. A violent protest against recognizing the Tennent party as members of Synod was read, and then signed by a majority. Scenes of disorder ensued. The Presbytery of New-Brunswick, regarding themselves excluded by this unconstitutional measure, withdrew in a body from the house. The next day it divided itself into the Presbyteries of New-Brunswick and Londonderry, and took measures

for organizing a new Synod. In 1742 the old Synod was occupied with ineffectual plans of reconciliation. In 1743 Mr. Cowell being moderator, and in 1744, the discussion went on, and no union taking place, the disowned members, and others who sympathized with them as unjustly dealt with, met as the Synod of New-York in Elizabethtown, September, 1745. In the references to this schism the Synod of Philadelphia is called historically *the Old Side*, and the other Synod, *the New Side*. The separation continued until 1758.*

Through these agitations Mr. Cowell stood by

* The unhappy personal effects lingered still longer. Dr. Green was ordained in Philadelphia in 1787, and says: "The arrangements for my ordination had been made with a view to mingle, and if possible, to harmonize the *old side* and the *new side* members of the Presbytery. For although twenty-nine years had elapsed, since in 1758 the rival Synods had become united, two Presbyteries of Philadelphia had existed, composed severally of the litigant parties; and the aged members of both sides had retained something of the old bitter feelings towards each other." ("Life," p. 154.)

The church where Dr. Green was ordained and installed had the less favorable associations for the purpose mentioned, as it was the one built by the exertions of Gilbert Tennent, for a people described by Dr. Franklin as "originally disciples of Mr. Whitefield." In compliance with the philosopher's advice, Tennent "asked of *every body*; and he obtained a much larger sum than he expected, with which he erected the capacious and elegant meeting-house that stands in Arch street." (Franklin's Autobiography: Sparks, i. 168.)

the old Synod; and though after his experience of Mr. Tennent's qualities as an antagonist, he may not have felt any personal prepossession for the side on which he was leader, his characteristic moderation and self-command were doubtless preserved. According to President Davies, perhaps alluding to these times, "in matters of debate, and especially of religious controversy, he was rather a moderator and compromiser, than a party." There is no reason to believe that he was carried away, as many were, by their admiration of the zeal of Whitefield, to overlook the serious perils of the excitement of his visits. Whitefield was, of course, a favorite with the "New Side." He was one of those men towards whom a broad charity is extended by the humble minds who honor in another the zeal in which they regard themselves to be defective, and overlook extravagancies for the sake of the good which they hope they will be the means of producing. Whitefield's history stands in need of this charity, and we should be slow in suspecting those men of coldness to a true work of Divine grace, who were conscientiously restrained from giving their countenance to his methods of procedure.

In the first year of his American travels

Whitefield preached at the towns between Philadelphia and New-York. His own journal of November 12, 1739, says: "By eight o'clock we reached Trent-town in the Jerseys. It being dark, we went out of our way a little in the woods; but God sent a guide to direct us aright. We had a comfortable refreshment when we reached our inn, and went to bed in peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." He left town early the next morning. After preaching in the neighborhood he was brought back to Trenton in the same month, by the prospect of a great gathering of people to view an execution. "November 21, 1739. Being strongly desired by many, and hearing that a condemned malefactor was to suffer that week, I went in company with about thirty more to Trent-town, and reached thither by five in the evening. Here God was pleased to humble my soul, and bring my sins to remembrance, so that I could hardly hold up my head. However, knowing that God called, I went out, trusting in Divine strength, and preached in the court-house; and though I was quite barren and dry in the beginning of the discourse, yet God enabled me to speak with great sweetness, freedom, and power before I had done. The un-

happy criminal seemed hardened, but I hope some good was done in the place."

Whitefield, it appears from this, preached, according to English custom, in the presence of the condemned man.* Mr. Cowell improved the same occasion by a sermon in his own church, on the repentance of the dying thief, which looks as if he did not offer his pulpit to the eloquent itinerant. A letter of Jonathan Arnold, who appears to have been an Episcopal minister, perhaps a missionary, in Connecticut, dated, "East Chester, November 27, 1739," and addressed to Wm. Smith, Esq., of New-York, refers to an incident of that visit. "When Mr. Whitefield came with me from Trenton, we agreed to search and examine each other. He had the preference. I past his examination till we came to Brunswick, after which I was to have the same liberty with him. He escaped by turning aside to preach for the famous Mr. Tennent."

In November, 1740, Whitefield was here again, as his journal speaks of having had at Trenton "a long conference with some ministers about Mr. Gilbert Tennent's complying with an invita-

* The custom in Newark as late as 1791. *Whitehead's Perth Amboy*, p. 319.

tion to go and preach in New-England." It is probable that he visited Trenton during his other tours in America, from 1744 to 1770. On the 30th July, 1754, one of his letters says: "To-morrow I preach at Newark; on Wednesday, at two in the afternoon, at New-Brunswick, and hope to reach Trent-town that night. Could you not meet me there quietly, that we might spend one evening together?" He was advertised in the Philadelphia papers to preach at Trenton on the 13th and 14th September, 1754.

Mr. Cowell was an active member of Synod. In 1738 he was on a committee to meet at Hanover, to adjust a difficulty between two parishes. At the same session he was placed on a committee of seven to examine candidates for the ministry. This committee had charge of the students in the Presbyteries to the north of Philadelphia, and a corresponding one had charge of those to the south. In 1743 he was Moderator, and elected on the Synod's commission for the year. For before the present constitution of our Church was adopted, the Synod followed the usage of the General Assembly of Scotland, in annually appointing a convenient number of its members to sit as a commission in the interval

of its stated convenings, and perform any Synodal business that required immediate dispatch.* The Moderator of 1743 was also added to a committee to answer a communication from Governor Thomas, of Pennsylvania, in regard to a pamphlet by the Rev. Alexander Craighead, which the government considered seditious, and which the Synod disavowed, both as to its sentiments, and as having any jurisdiction over its author.†

In 1749 the Synod of New-York sent a delegation to the Synod of Philadelphia, with a proposal that each Synod should appoint a commission to meet and deliberate upon a plan of reünion. This movement towards reconciliation was acceded to by the sister Synod, and on the 25th May they appointed a commission of nine members, of whom Mr. Cowell was one. The united meeting was appointed to be held in Trenton on the first Wednesday of the ensuing October. The meeting took place accordingly on the

* The sessions of the Commission appear to have been opened as formally as those of the Synod. I have before me, in a pamphlet, "A Sermon preached before the Commission of the Synod at Philadelphia, April 20th, 1735. By E. Pemberton, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church in the City of New-York." The dedication "to the Reverend Commission of the Synod," refers to its having been "preached in obedience to your commands."

† The address to the Governor, signed by Cowell, and the Governor's reply, are in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 9, 1743.

4th and 5th of October, and Mr. Cowell was chosen to preside. The negotiations initiated at this meeting were prolonged in various shapes until May 29, 1755, when a commission of conference was again appointed by the Synod of Philadelphia, and Mr. Cowell was one of its seven members. They met in Philadelphia on the same afternoon. He was also on a committee of five in 1756 to answer a minute then received from the other Synod; and on another committee to obtain a charter for the Widows' Fund from the Messrs. Penn, the Pennsylvania Proprietors, and also on the Synod's Commission and Fund.* In May, 1757, another joint conference was held at Trenton, of which Mr. Cowell was a member. He was on the Commission of the Synod, and Committee for the Fund for 1758, in which year the two Synods were at length combined under the title of the Synod of New-York and Philadelphia.

At the first meeting of the new Synod (May 30, 1758) Mr. Cowell and Mr. Guild, (of Pennington,) were transferred from the Presbytery of Philadelphia to that of New-Brunswick, and from

* The Synod's "Fund" was for such "pious uses" as were designated from time to time.

that time the respective churches have retained the connection. The last mention of Mr. Cowell's name on the Synod's records is under the date of May 22, 1760, when, although not present, he was placed on a committee to dispose of the fund for the relief of poor and pious youth in the College of New-Jersey.

NOTE.—It may have been expected that some notice should be found in this chapter, of the celebrated case which was before the Supreme Court at Trenton, in 1742, in which the Rev. William Tennent was arraigned for perjury, on account of the evidence he had given to prove that the Rev. John Rowland was far from Hunterdon county when Bell, assuming his name, stole a horse. But I trust that an authentic account of that whole affair will soon be furnished by a more competent hand, and I believe that it will be made to appear that there is no foundation for the story of the supernatural mission of witnesses from Maryland to Trenton. A paper to this effect, by Mr. Richard S. Field, has already appeared in the *Proceedings of the New-Jersey Historical Society*. (Vol. vi. p. 31.)

Chapter Fifth.

Trenton in 1748—Episcopal Churches—Trenton Names and Places—1722–1768.

1746—1760.

On the sixth of September, 1746, at the instance of Governor Morris, Trenton was, by royal charter, constituted a borough-town. Thomas Cadwalader was the first Chief-Burgess; Nathaniel Ward, Recorder, with twelve Burgesses. But in April, 1750, the inhabitants having found that the disadvantages of incorporation preponderated, surrendered the charter through the hands of Governor Belcher.*

For the sake of the impression it may convey of what the town was at this period, I will here make an extract from the journal of a traveller who saw it in the year 1748. This writer was Peter Kalm, Professor of Economy in the University of Abo, in Swedish Finland; who visited

* The Charter is in book AAA of Commissions, p. 266: the surrender on p. 306.

North America, as a naturalist, under the auspices of the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences. It was in honor of his botanical researches that Linnæus gave the name of *Kalmia* to our Laurel. Under the date of October 28, 1748, Kalm enters his observations as follows:

"Trenton is a long, narrow town, situate at some distance from the river Delaware, on a sandy plain. It belongs to New-Jersey, and they reckon it thirty miles from Philadelphia. It has two small churches, one for the people belonging to the Church of England, the other for the Presbyterians. The houses are partly built of stone, though most of them are made of wood or planks, commonly two stories high, together with a cellar below the building, and a kitchen under ground, close to the cellar. The houses stand at a moderate distance from one another. They are commonly built so that the street passes along one side of the houses, while gardens of different dimensions bound the other side. In each garden is a draw-well.* The place is reckoned very healthy. Our landlord told us that twenty-two years ago, when he first settled here, there was hardly more than one house; but from that time Trenton has increased so much that there are at present near a hundred houses. The houses were, within, divided into several rooms by the partitions

* Among the debits of the Treasurer's book, in account with the Trenton parsonage, are frequently to be found such items as, "to hoops for the well-bucket," "for cleaning the well," "to a rope for the well."

of boards. The inhabitants of the place carried on a small trade with the goods which they got from Philadelphia, but their chief gain consists in the arrival of the numerous travellers between that city and New-York; for they are commonly brought by the Trenton yachts from Philadelphia to Trenton, or from thence to Philadelphia. But from Trenton further to New-Brunswick, the travellers go in the wagons which set out every day for that place. Several of the inhabitants, however, likewise subsist on the carriage for all sorts of goods which are every day sent in great quantities either from Philadelphia to New-York, or from thence to the former place; for between Philadelphia and Trenton all goods go by water, but between Trenton and New-Brunswick they are all carried by land, and both these conveniences belong to people of this town.

"For the yachts which go between this place and the capital of Pennsylvania, (Philadelphia,) they usually pay a shilling and sixpence of Pennsylvania currency per person, and every one pays besides for his baggage. Every passenger must provide meat and drink for himself, or pay some settled fare. Between Trenton and New-Brunswick a person pays 2s. 6d., and the baggage is likewise paid for separately.

"On the road from Trenton to New-Brunswick I never saw any place in America, the towns excepted, so well peopled. An old man, who lived in the neighborhood, and accompanied us for some part of the road, however, assured me that he could well remember the time when between Trenton and New-Brunswick there were not

above three farms, and he reckoned it was fifty and some odd years ago."*

When it is said that the landlord told Kalm that in 1726 there was hardly one house in Trenton, either the Swede did not understand the Jerseyman, or the host spoke at random; for if as early as 1719 the courts sat in Trenton, it is not probable that such a selection would be made, seven years before there was "hardly a house."

The statistical guesses or reports of travellers are not to be relied on, especially if the reporters do not speak the language of the country. The Rev. Andrew Burnaby, an English clergyman, describes Trenton, in 1759, as "containing about a hundred houses. It has nothing remarkable: there is a Church, (of England,) a Quaker's and Presbyterian meeting-house, and barracks for three hundred men."† These barracks, which

* In a letter of 1730–1, quoted in Whitehead's History of Perth Amboy, (p. 155,) the writer remarks that in 1715 "there were but four or five houses in the thirty miles between Inian's Ferry (New-Brunswick,) and the Falls of Delaware; but now the whole way it is almost a continued lane of fences and good farmers' houses, and the whole country is there settled or settling very thick."

† Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America, etc., in 1759 and 1760.

are now in part occupied by the "Home for Widows," were erected in 1758, simultaneously with those at New-Brunswick and Elizabethtown. Elkanah Watson, who was here in 1777, says: "Trenton contains about *seventy* dwellings, situate principally on two narrow streets running parallel."* In the travels of the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, in 1795–7, Trenton is said to "contain about *three hundred* houses; most of which are of wood. Those of the high-street are somewhat better in structure than the rest, yet still but very moderate in their appearance."† In the same year an English visitor says: "Trenton contains about *two hundred* houses, together with four churches. The streets are commodious, and the houses neatly built."‡ Melish, in 1806–7, makes it "a handsome little town, containing about *two hundred* houses."§ The Rev. Mr. Burnaby "went to Sir John Sinclair's, at the Falls of Delaware, about a mile above Trenton, a pleasant rural retirement." Sir John Sinclair's knighthood was of the order

* Memoirs, p. 29.

† Travels; Translated by Newman. London, 1799, i. 594.

‡ Travels through the States of North America, etc., in 1795–7. By Isaac Weld, Jr. London, 1799.

§ Travels, i. 143.

known in English heraldry as a Baronetcy of Nova Scotia. He was the first occupant of the mansion that afterwards belonged to "Lord" Stirling, and then to Mr. Rutherford, a short distance west of the State House, and on the river. The three families were connected. The house was subsequently tenanted by Robert Lettis Hooper, and the walls of "the Green-House," remained to give name to the site long after the dwelling itself had been demolished. A correspondent of the Trenton "Federalist," of March 30, 1802, states that the first ice-house in the State, "in our recollection, was erected by Sir John St. Clair, [so written,] about the year 1760."*

* There was a Sir John St. Clair in Braddock's army, who arrived in January, 1755; was Lieutenant Colonel of the 22d Regiment, and Deputy Quarter-Master General for all the forces in America. In 1762 he was made a full Colonel. On the list of the wounded at the defeat (July 9, 1755) he is put down as "Sir John Sinclair, Baronet, Dep. Q. M. Gen." (Winthrop Sargent's History of Braddock's Expedition: Pennsylvania Historical Society, pp. 136, 143, 285.) The death of "Hon. Col. Sir John St. Clair, Bar't.," is announced in the newspapers of the day, as having taken place at Elizabethtown, December, 1767. There was a "Captain Rutherford" with St. Clair in the Expedition. From some references and correspondence, it would appear that Sir John was a petulant officer. See "Letters and Papers relating to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania," principally from papers of the Shippen family, privately printed. Philadelphia: pp. 36–8, 61, 151. In one letter Sir John speaks of "Betsey—I mean, Lady St. Clair."

I would here enlarge the notices already given incidentally of the foundation of the Episcopal Church in Trenton and its vicinity. I have mentioned the building erected on the ground conveyed by Hutchinson in 1703, and its occupation at intervals, if not jointly, by the Presbyterians. In Humphreys' "Historical Account of the Gospel Propagation Society," we have the following statement:

"Hopewell and Maidenhead are two neighbouring towns, containing a considerable number of families. The people of Hopewell showed a very early desire of having the Church of England worship settled among them; and in the year 1704 built a church with voluntary contributions, though they had no prospect then of having a minister. The Rev. Mr. May was there some short time, but Mr. Talbot, from Burlington, often visited them. This church was for ten years vacant. In 1720 the Rev. Mr. Harrison was appointed missionary there, with the care of Maidenhead, but soon wrote the Society word that he was not able to undergo the fatigue of constantly riding between two places, and in 1723 he removed to a church in Staten Island."

In the Society's "Account" for 1706, it is said: "Many other public letters were continually sent over, by which it appeared that the inhabitants of Hopewell and Maidenhead were building a

church, and desired a minister and some subsistence for him." In 1709 Mr. Talbot writes from Burlington: "Poor Hopewell has built a church and have had no minister yet."* In a manuscript, headed, "State of the Church of England in America in 1705," probably a copy of some English document, it is said that a minister is wanted "at Hopewell, between Crosswicks and Maidenhead, where they are building" a church; and one "at the Falls, thirty miles above Philadelphia, where a church is building." In collating these notices, Hopewell and the Falls would seem to indicate different localities; and if the former be the name of the "Old Church" of our map, in Chapter Second, the latter may denote some other place—perhaps in Pennsylvania—to which the general neighborhood title of the Falls may have been applied.†

* In the first edition (1708) of Oldmixon's British Empire in America, it is said there are "but two Church of England ministers in both the Provinces" of East and West New-Jersey.

The most comprehensive account of the denominations existing in the middle of the century, which I have seen, is in "A digression concerning the various sectaries in religion, in the British settlements of North America," contained in Dr. Douglass' "Summary, Historical and Political." Boston, 1753, vol. ii., pp. 112–157.

† In a map in Humphreys' Historical Account of the Gospel Propagation Society, 1730, I find the following topography:

In 1749 a lottery "for finishing the church at Trenton," was drawn in Pennsylvania. Of the Trenton Episcopal church, however, we find nothing definite until June, 1750, when the Rev. Michael Houdin is reported in the Society's Accounts as "invited by the inhabitants of Trenton and other places in New-Jersey, to go and officiate among them." Upon this he addressed a letter to the Society, dated Trenton, November 1, 1750, which begins: "Having my residence at New-York, I heard of repeated complaints made by gentlemen and principal inhabitants of this place, Allen's Town and Borden's Town, it being for many years past destitute of a Church of England minister; and without any sort of application of mine, about five months ago, some of them were pleased to press me by letter to come amongst them. . . . When I waited on them I really found they were destitute indeed, there not being a minister of the Church of England nearer than Burlington." The Abstracts of the Society for 1753,

° Hopewell,
° Maidenhead,
° Burlington.

If this was the understanding in 1705, the Hopewell of the manuscript could not be so near Trenton as the "Old Church"

say: "The Rev. Mr. Houdin, having for some years officiated at Trenton and the neighboring places in the Province of New-Jersey, among the members of the Church of England, upon such slender support as they in their poor circumstances could afford him," the Society appointed him their "itinerant missionary to officiate in Trenton and the parts adjacent."

Michael Houdin, whose name has been usually given nearer to its pronunciation, as Udang or Eudang, in which latter form it actually appears in the first minutes of the Vestry of St. Michael's Church, (April 30, 1755,)—born in France in 1705—was originally a priest in the Church of Rome and Superior of a Franciscan Convent in Montreal. He renounced that faith and entered the Episcopal Church in New-York in 1747, and thence came to Trenton as the Society's "itinerant missionary in New-Jersey," on a salary of fifty pounds. In 1759 Houdin accompanied General Wolfe to Quebec, as his guide; and in October "intreats the Society that his absence from his mission may not bring him under displeasure, as he was in some measure forced to it, in obedience to the commands of Lord Loudon,

and the succeeding commanders, who depended much on his being well acquainted with that country." After the reduction of Quebec, Houdin asked leave to return to his missionary post, but General Murray retained him in the army. He complained that he had lost much by the death of Wolfe, "who promised to remember his labor and services." From Canada he appears to have been sent as missionary to New-Rochelle, Westchester county, New-York, where were many French refugees. He died there in October, 1766.* The Rev. Mr. Treadwell was the successor to Houdin. In May, 1769, the Rev. William Thomson produced to the Vestry the Society's letter appointing him to the mission of "Trenton and Maidenhead," to which the Wardens gave their approbation.†

* Anderson's History of the Colonial Church of England. London, 1856, vol. iii. Bolton's History of the Episcopal Church in Westchester County. New-York, 1855, p. 453–471. O'Callaghan's Documentary History of New-York. Vol. iii. 955.

† In 1732 "the inhabitants of Amwell and Hopewell" applied to the Society for a Missionary. In 1739, Col. Daniel Coxe made his will, devising one hundred acres in Maidenhead, "known as the town-lot, for the use of an Episcopal Church erected, or to be hereafter erected, in the township of Maidenhead." The minutes of St. Michael's Vestry, of 1775, mention "the glebe of Maidenhead."

The nearest newspaper offices accessible to Trenton for half a century after its foundation, were those of Philadelphia. Through all that period the want of a local press and the obstacles to correspondence, kept the affairs of the town in their native obscurity. Such notices and advertisements, however, as are found in the Philadelphia journals, afford some idea of the population and business of Trenton, and give some names of its early inhabitants, not otherwise to be found. From a cursory inspection of a series of Bradford's *Weekly Mercury*, and Keimer's and Franklin's. *Pennsylvania Gazette*,* I have made the following miscellaneous notes. A number of the names are among the signatures of Mr. Cowell's call in 1736.

November, 1722—William Yard, of Trenton, advertises the escape of a negro servant.

August, 1723.—Joseph Peace offers for sale two dwelling houses belonging to Peter Pummer, near Trent's Mill. Inquiry to be made of Mr. Peace, at his residence in Trent-Town.

September, 1723.—A line of transportation for goods and passengers is advertised as running between Trenton

* In the Philadelphia Library is a series of the *Mercury* from 1719 to 1746, and of the *Gazette* from 1728 to 1774. The latter appeared at first under the extraordinary title of *The Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences, and Pennsylvania Gazette.*

and Philadelphia, once a week each way. The agent in Trenton was John Woolland. The office in the city was at the celebrated "Crooked Billet."

March, 1728.—A large stone house, with a good smith-shop, to be sold at vendue at the house of William Hoff.

December, 1729.—John Severn's stable and seven horses burnt.

October, 1731.—For sale a plantation, adjoining the town of Trenton, 130 acres; also one three miles above Trenton, near the ferry above the falls, one mile from Yardley's old mill, and three from his new one, 500 acres. "Inquire of Capt. James Gould, at Trenton, and be further informed."

December, 1731.—A bolting-house and store, belonging to Benjamin Smith, took fire, "but was seasonably prevented."

June, 1732.—Enoch Anderson, "at the Falls' ferry."

July, 1732.—Enoch Anderson, Junior, sub. sheriff.

August, 1732.—The house of Ebenezer Prout, "near this place," was struck by lightning. William Pearson was hurt, a boy killed.

September, 1732.—Eliacom [kim] Anderson, "now living at Trenton ferry."

February, 1732–3.—A fresh carried away the dam of the iron works, also the dam of the grist-mill, bridge and dyeing-house.

September 19, 1734.—Notice is given of the establishment of a post office at Trenton, "where all persons may have their letters, if directed for that county; also where they may put in their letters directed to any parts, and due care will be taken to send them." The postmaster

was Andrew Reed, and the office was at the house of Joseph Reed.

The first advertisement of uncalled-for letters, which I have seen, is under the date March 25, 1755, and is as follows:

"A list of letters now in the post office at Trenton.

C

William Carnegie, near *Kingston*,
John Clark, (Attorney,) *Trenton.*

H

John Hyde, *Hopewell.*

M

Joseph Morton, *Princetown.*

P

Richard Patterson, *Princetown.*

S

John Stevens, *Rocky Hill.*

V

Ares Vanderbelt, *Maidenhead.*

"Letters not taken up within three months from this date will be sent to the General Post Office at Philadelphia."

September, 1734.—Isaac Harrow, an English smith, has lately set up at Trenton a plating and blade-mill, where he makes axes, carpenters' and coopers' tools, tanners' and skinners' knives, spades, shovels, shears, scythes, mill and hand-saws, frying-pans, etc., "likewise all sorts of iron plates, fit for bell making or any other use."

May, 1736.—Application for a stone house and a lot of three quarters of an acre, to be made to Cornelius Ringo

in Trenton. It "lies in a very convenient part of the town for any manner of business, being near the mill."

February, 1737.—There will be a stage-wagon from Trenton to Brunswick twice a week and back; will set out from William Atlee's and Thomas Hooton's, in Trenton.

October, 1737.—Servants absconded from Benjamin Smith and Richard Noland.

November, 1737.—A Scotch servant-man absconded from Mr. Warrell.

January, 1738.—Servant absconded from Joseph Decow.

August, 1739.—To be let, the grist-mills at Trenton, with two tenements adjoining, now in the tenure of Joseph Peace.

December, 1739.—Andrew Reed receives subscriptions in Trenton for Whitefield's Sermons and Journals, to be published by Franklin.

March, 1740.—William Atlee proposes to continue to keep a store with John Dagworthy, Junior, until his partnership with Thomas Hooton is settled.

May, 1744.—To be sold, by Benjamin Smith, a corner lot; also a stone house, fronting King street; sundry lots on Queen street.

September, 1745.—To be sold, "the iron plating works, smith's shop, and all the tools and moulds for making frying-pans, dripping-pans, etc., said works being now fit for use;" also a good dwelling-house—all of the estate of Isaac Harrow, deceased. Apply to Anthony Morris, Philadelphia, or William Morris, Trenton.

January, 1745.—For sale, dwelling, malt-house, brew-house, and all utensils, and quarter of acre of land in King

street, estate of William Atlee. Enquire of James Atlee, Trenton, or Thomas Hooton, Trenton ferry.

March, 1746.—Sundry lots offered by William Morris and William Morris, Junior, on both sides of Hanover street 45 feet front and 147 feet deep.

October, 1746.—A fair for three days will be held in the borough-town of Trenton for cattle of all kinds, goods, wares, and merchandise.

1746.—William Morris, Junior, at his store opposite to John Jenkins's, advertises rum by the hogshead, and salt by the hundred bushels.

June, 1748.—Enoch Anderson offers for sale a house "fronting the street that leads directly to New-York," also "two lots opposite the Presbyterian meeting-house, on one of which is a very good stable."

April, 1750.—House of William Douglass at Trenton landing.

1750.—For sale by Benjamin Biles, a "well-accustomed tanyard, with vats enough for 800 hides, and dwelling adjoining the tanyard, on the west side of King street, near the middle of the town."

May, 1750.—Thomas Cadwalader offers 900 acres of woodland, a mile and a half north of the town, watered by fine streams, "one of which the Trenton mills stand on." Also a plantation of 700 acres, on the Delaware, where William Douglass now lives, north of Trenton about two miles, adjoining the plantation where Mr. Tuite lately lived; also a large corner brick house in Queen street, in a very public part of the town; also 25 acres of pasture land in the upper end of Queen street.

June, 1750.—For sale, plantation, 447 acres, late in pos-

session of Alexander Lockhart, Esq, between three and four miles from Trenton, on Scot's road, and adjoining the old Meeting-house lot, and the plantation of Charles Clark, Esq. Enquire of John Cox, Trenton.

April, 1751.—John Evans, cooper.

January, 1752. James Rutherford's house robbed.

April, 1752.—Elijah Bond's stable and 14 horses, and some adjoining houses burnt.

September, 1753.—For sale, Nathaniel Moore's mills and plantation, six miles above Trenton, 400 acres; apply to William Clayton, or William Pidgeon, Trenton.

1754.—Several men for sale by "Reed and Furman."

May, 1754.—Tickets in the Lottery in Connecticut for the benefit of College of New-Jersey, for sale by Rev. Mr. Cowell, and Reed & Furman.

July, 1754.—Edward Broadfield has removed from Bordentown to Trenton.

1756.—The Philadelphia and New-York line. John Butler's stage starts on Tuesday from Philadelphia, to house of Nathaniel Parker at Trenton Ferry, thence over the ferry to house kept by George Moschell, where Francis Holman will meet John Butler, and exchange passengers, and proceed on Wednesday, through Princeton and New-Brunswick, to Perth Amboy, where will be a boat to proceed to New-York on Thursday morning.

1757.—Subscriptions for the *New American Magazine*, about to be published in Philadelphia, may be left with Moore Furman, Postmaster of Trenton.

April 1758.—Andrew Reed, of Trenton, advertises tract of 200 acres at Amwell, and in Trenton two good stone houses, with garden, well, etc., one of which now lets for

£8 10s. per annum, and the other, having a cooper's shop on the lot, for £12; also three lots on the west side of King street, 45 by 140.

April, 1758.—William Douglass, sign of the Wheatsheaf, or at the house of John Cummings, is authorized to enlist a regiment of one thousand men for the King's service.

July, 1758.—For sale by executors, the seat of Joseph Warrell, Esq., late deceased, well known by name of Bellville, on the Delaware, three fourths of a mile from Trenton, with gardens, orchards, etc. Also a plantation of 300 acres, within one fourth of a mile of the above, on the Delaware, with a patent for a ferry.

May, 1759.—Robert Lettis Hooper has laid out lots 60 by 181, for a town in Nottingham township, beginning on the Delaware at Trenton ferry, running as the road runs to the grist mills opposite Trenton, thence down the stream of the mills to the Delaware, thence down the river to the ferry, being the head of navigation, "where there is a considerable trade extended from the city of Philadelphia, and great parts of the counties of Hunterdon, Morris, Middlesex, Somerset, and Bucks, in Pennsylvania, deliver their produce," and rafts of timber, staves, etc., come from 120 miles up the river. Offered for sale, or on lease for sixty years. Apply to advertiser or his sons Robert L. Hooper and Jacob Roeters [or Rutters] Hooper, "living at his mills opposite to Trenton."

May, 1764.—Samuel Tucker, Sheriff, will sell that well-accustomed tavern, the lot 67 feet on Front street, and 174 on Market, adjoining lands of William Morris, Junior, Wm. Cleayton, James Smith, and Robert Singer; house

35 feet square, having a "genteel assembly-room, with a door opening into a fine balcony, fronting Queen street," late the property and now in possession of Robert Rutherford.

March, 1765.—For sale a settlement on the river called Lamberton, about half a mile below the ferry near Trenton, with utensils for curing herring and sturgeon.

March, 1768.—For sale, "Hermitage" on the Delaware, one mile from Trenton, 220 acres. Apply to Benjamin Biles.

I have taken the trouble of making this collection for the sake of the local interest it may possess with the inhabitants of Trenton, and to corroborate what was said in the beginning of the chapter as to the probable size of the town in the first quarter of the century.

Chapter Sixth.

College of New-Jersey—Cowell, Burr, Davies, Finley.

1746—1760.

Of the College of New-Jersey, the Rev. Mr. Cowell was so early and active a friend, that he may be counted among its founders. The College was indeed projected by members of the Synod of New-York, as one of the means of strengthening themselves after the disruption of 1741, and not unlikely as a means of removing the taunt connected with the inadequacy of the Neshaminy school. But as it was to be established in New-Jersey, and for all that he knew, in Trenton or its neighborhood, Mr. Cowell was not so bigoted a churchman, as to withhold his influence from a scheme which, while it had no positive connection with any party, promised such important advantages to the religious and educational condition of the whole Province.*

* Dr. Green, in his "Notes," overlooked the pastor of Trenton and the Rev. Mr. Guild, when he wrote: "In the Province of New-Jersey

He had learned the value of college training from his own career at Harvard, and must have shared the indignation of the friends of David Brainerd against Yale, when he was expelled in 1742, for saying of one of the tutors, "he has no more grace than this chair," which incident is said to have had its influence in encouraging a new college.

The College of New-Jersey received its first charter in 1746, and was opened with eight pupils, at Elizabethtown, under President Dickinson, in 1747. Upon his decease that same year, the pupils were removed to Newark, and placed under the Rev. Aaron Burr, who had a classical school in the town. In 1748 a more enlarged charter was obtained. Of the trustees named in this instrument, Mr. Cowell was one, and he was deputed to wait on Governor Belcher with an address from the corporation, acknowledging their acceptance of the trust.

The Governor was regarded so much in the light of a founder of the College, that upon the completion of the edifice they formally asked his permission to call it Belcher Hall. He declined

it is not known that there was a single clergyman who belonged to the Synod of Philadelphia." (Discourses and Notes, p. 281-2.)

the honor, professing to "have always been very fond of the motto of a late great personage, *prodesse quam conspici*—to be useful rather than conspicuous*—but asked the liberty of naming the College Nassau Hall, in memory of William III., "who was a branch of the illustrious house of Nassau, and who, under God, was the great deliverer of the British nation from those two monstrous furies, Popery and Slavery."† Mr. Burr was chosen President, and the first class, seven in number, was graduated.‡ At the first regular meeting of the trustees after the reörganization, Mr. Cowell was placed on committees to apply to the Legislature for pecuniary aid, and to receive subscriptions in Trenton. From the few remains of the correspondence it appears that President Burr frequently and familiarly consulted with Mr. Cowell about the affairs of the College. In July, 1753, he presses him to

* This motto of the House of Somers was adopted, probably from the Governor's answer, by the Cliosophic Society of the College, instituted in 1765. It was the theme of the striking oration before the rival societies, by the Rev. Baynard R. Hall, D.D., in the commencement week of 1852.

† Dr. Green's "Notes," pp. 274–5.

‡ There is a particular report of the first commencement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, for December 13, 1748.

be at a certain meeting of the Board: "Besides discharging your duty as a trustee, you might consult about providing for your school in the best manner. I find myself a great deal in your debt as to the article of letters, and, like other bankrupts, though I never expect fully to pay, yet I would make some attempts, that I may retain my credit a little longer. I will do my best in providing you a schoolmaster, but have some fears whether I can quite suit you or me. One of the best I must keep for my own use; one or two more that I could recommend are otherwise engaged. I have three in my mind, and am a little at a loss which to send." The compensation offered for a teacher at that time was twenty-five pounds and boarding.

From the allusion in this and other letters, it appears that Mr. Cowell was looking for a good teacher for Trenton, and that the school referred to had a connection with his own parish, or at least had been built on the church-grounds, and conducted under some general control of the congregational authorities.

Some light is thrown upon this enterprise by an advertisement which is found in the Philadel-

phia newspapers of May, 1753, and which is not without interest for other reasons:

"We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, sons of some of the principal families in and about Trenton, being in some measure sensible of the advantages of learning, and desirous that those who are deprived of it through the poverty of their parents, might taste the sweetness of it with ourselves, can think of no better or other method for that purpose, than the following scheme of a *Delaware-Island Lottery*, for raising 225 pieces of eight [Spanish dollars] towards building a house to accommodate an English and grammar school, and paying a master to teach such children whose parents are unable to pay for schooling. It is proposed that the house be thirty feet long, twenty feet wide, and one story high, and built on the south-east corner of the meeting-house yard in Trenton, under the direction of Messieurs Benjamin Yard, Alexander Chambers, and John Chambers, all of Trenton aforesaid. . . . The managers are Reynald Hooper, son of Robert Lettis Hooper, Esq.; Joseph Warrell, Junior, son of Joseph Warrell, Esq.; Joseph Reed, Junior, son of Andrew Reed, Esq.; Theophilus Severns, Junior, son of Theophilus Severns, Esq.; John Allen, Junior, son of John Allen, Esq.; William Paxton, son of Joseph Paxton, Esq., deceased; and John Cleayton, son of William Cleayton, Esq."

The drawing was to take place June 11, "on Fish Island in the river Delaware, opposite to the town of Trenton, and the money raised by

this lottery shall be paid into the hands of Moore Furman, of Trenton, who is under bond for the faithful laying out the money for the uses above. . . . And we the Managers assure the adventurers upon our honor, that this scheme in all its parts shall be as punctually observed as if we were under the formalities used in lotteries; and we flatter ourselves, the public, considering our laudable design, our age, and our innocence, will give credit to this our public declaration."

The lottery of the innocents was drawn on the 2d July, 1753, and the building was doubtless erected immediately afterwards on the spot indicated. The minutes of our trustees record that in 1765, Alexander Chambers and Benjamin Yard were elected by the congregation "Directors of the School-House." In a lease of 1800 to the "Trenton Academy," the premises are described as "a certain brick building, which was erected on the lot belonging to the trustees of the said church for the purpose of a school-house." The lessees added a story to the building, and it continued to be used for school and church purposes until it was taken out of the way at the erection of the present church.

To return to the College. In 1753 the Rever-

end Samuel Davies and Gilbert Tennent were sent to Great Britain to solicit contributions for building a suitable edifice for the institution. Princeton was selected as its place. It was while making his final arrangements for the voyage that Davies first made his personal acquaintance with Cowell. In his journal of September 18, 1753, Davies writes: "Rode solitary and sad from Philadelphia to Trenton. Spent the evening with Mr. Cowell, an agreeable gentleman, of the Synod of Philadelphia; but my spirits were so exhausted that I was incapable of lively conversation, and was ashamed of my blundering method of talking." It was a bachelor's home. The next evening was enlivened by his visit to the family of the gentleman who succeeded Mr. Cowell in the pastorship of Trenton. "Rode on and came to Mr. Spencer's, at Elizabethtown, where I was most kindly received, and my spirit cheered by his facetious conversation."*

* The interesting and valuable journal of Davies, from 1753 to 1755, is given entire in Dr. Foote's Sketches of Virginia, first series, chap. xii. It adds to my personal interest in this part of the history, to find that it was possibly my ancestor, Matthew Clarkson, of Philadelphia, whom Davies mentions as a fellow-passenger to London, and certainly it was the great-grandfather of my great-grandfather, who is referred to in Davies' journal of January 27, 1754, when having preached in Berry street, Davies says:

At various dates in 1754, President Burr writes from Newark to Mr. Cowell, who was on the building committee. "I liked Mr. Worth's [the mason] proposals very well on first view, and think with you it is necessary to have a meeting of the committee, and as many others as can attend, as soon as may be. . . . Yesterday I received letters from Messrs. Tennent and Davies, dated April 30, which bring the agreeable news that they have in hand and promises £1400 sterling." "Let me know if you think I had best bring a man with me to Princeton that understands quarrying." "They ask double the price for carting at Princeton to what they do this way; so I believe it would not be best they should cart much sand." "We must begin a barn, buy a wagon, etc., immediately." "It pleases me to find the College lies so much on your mind. I have a hundred things to say that must be deferred to our meeting, and can only add that I am ut semper yours affectionately." "We appointed the committee to meet at Princeton on the third Tuesday of November, but I fear,

"When I entered the pulpit it filled me with reverence to reflect that I stood in the place where Mr. *Clarkson*, Dr. Owen, Dr. Watts, and others had once officiated."

things will suffer in meantime. We depended on Mr. [John] Brainerd's going to see how things went on, but he is sick. I wish your affairs would admit of your visiting the building; and if you think there is need of it, you may appoint our meeting sooner; but if nothing will suffer, it is best the other appointment should stand. . . . There should be the utmost care that the foundation be laid strong. We ought to have had a man to oversee the work *de die in diem*, though I put great confidence in Mr. Worth. I know how much you have the affair at heart."

The trustees, by a vote on the 29th September, 1756, directed the removal to Princeton to be made "this fall." President Finley, in 1764, wrote: "In the year 1757 the students, to about the number of seventy, removed from Newark." President Green, writing in 1822, believed it took place in the vacation succeeding the commencement of 1756. Dr. Griffin, at Dr. Macwhorter's funeral in 1807, said the removal was in October, 1756, and this is confirmed by a memorandum of Nathaniel Fitz Randolph, made in 1758. The commencement of 1757 fell on the 26th September; President Burr died in Princeton on the 24th of the same month. Before leaving the

town, after the funeral and commencement, the trustees elected the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, Sr., to the vacant chair. Mr. Edwards not coming immediately, the trustees in December appointed Mr. Cowell to act as President of the College until their next meeting. "The choice of the said Mr. Cowell," according to the minutes of the trustees, "being made known to him, he was pleased to accept of the same, and was qualified as the charter directs." Upon his election it was "voted that President Cowell provide, as soon as possible, an Usher for the grammar-school." He served until February 16, 1758, when President Edwards took his seat; but held it scarcely a month, falling a victim to the small-pox on the 22d of March.

Mr. Davies was elected his successor on the 19th April, being then but thirty-four years of age. Mr. Cowell was appointed an alternate to the Rev. Mr. Caleb Smith, to act at the next commencement, and was placed on the committee to attend to Mr. Davies' removal from Virginia, import books from England, and attend to the completion of the President's house and the College.

Mr. Cowell had been corresponding with Mr.

Davies on other matters, before his election to the presidency. In a letter of February 20, 1758, after lamenting the loss which the College and the Church had suffered in the recent removals by death of Governor Belcher, President Burr, and the Rev. Mr. Davenport, Mr. Davies indulges in what he calls a reverie, as follows:

"As the death of these good men was undoubtedly gain to them, may we not modestly conjecture that it will also prove an advantage to the world, though we are apt to lament them as lost? I can not conceive of heaven as a state of mere enjoyment, without action, or indolent supine adoration and praise. The happiness agreeable to vigorous immortals must consist, one would think, in proper exercise, suitable to the benevolence of their hearts and the extent of their powers. May we not then suppose that such devout and benevolent souls as these, when released from the confinement of mortality, and the low labor of the present life, are not only advanced to superior degrees of happiness, but placed in a higher sphere of usefulness, employed as the ministers of Providence, not to this or that particular church, college, or colony, but to a more extensive charge, and perhaps to a more important class of beings, so that the public good, as the good of the universe of creatures taken collectively, to which the interests of private persons and inferior communities must always be subordinate under a wise administration, may be promoted by their removal from us, and from their narrow sphere of beneficence in this imperfect world.

And if, when they cease to be useful *men*, they commence *angels*, that is, ministering spirits, we may congratulate them and the world upon this more extensive beneficence, insead of lamenting them as lost to all usefulness. Thus, sir, I sometimes permit my imagination to rove; but I must confess, sense prevails against speculation and conjecture, and as an inhabitant of this world I deeply feel the loss. Forgive me, dear sir, this reverie, which seems to suggest a new thought; if it should be new to *you*, I should for that very reason suspect it not to be just.

"I heartily rejoice in the choice the Trustees have made of a successor to Mr. Burr. Mr. Edwards has long been very high in my esteem as a man of very great piety, and one of the deepest thinkers and greatest divines of the age. May the Lord long continue his life, and his capacities for action!"

Mr. Davies was much perplexed as to his duty, when informed of his own election as successor of President Edwards. Upon referring the matter to his Presbytery they recommended his remaining in Virginia, and he yielded to their judgment. His later resolution, and the state of mind which led to it, are described in a letter which he wrote on the 14th September, 1758, to Mr. Cowell, and which, notwithstanding its want of direct connection with our narrative, I think needs no excuse for its insertion here, especially as this correspondence has not before been edited.

"Though my mind was calm and serene for some time after the decision of the Presbytery, and I acquiesced in their judgment as the voice of God, till Mr. Smith [Rev. Caleb Smith, of the Committee] was gone, yet to-day my anxieties are revived, and I am almost as much at a loss as ever what is my duty; nor can my conscience be easy without sending this postscript to my former letter at a venture, though I have no other medium of conveyance but the post, which is often uncertain and tedious. I can honestly declare, sir, I never was so much concerned about my own estate as I have been and still am for the prosperity of the College. And the very suspicion that I may possibly have done it an injury by not accepting the honor the Trustees were pleased to confer upon me, causes me to appear almost an unpardonable criminal to myself. This suspicion haunts me night and day, and I can have no ease till I am delivered from it. It received a terrible confirmation when I found that though the Presbytery could not positively determine, it was my duty to leave Virginia and accept the invitation. Yet they were very skeptical about it, and wished I could have determined the matter for myself. I am also apprehensive the generous error of their excessive personal friendship for me, and their excessive diffidence of their own abilities to manage affairs in a concern of so much difficulty without my conduct and assistance, had no small influence upon their determination. I am likewise convinced, that if I had been able to form any previous judgment of my own, it would have turned the scale, and theirs would have coïncided with mine.

"I have indeed a very large, important congregation;

and I am so far from having any reason to think they are weary of me, that it is an agreeable misfortune to me, that they love me so well. But I make no scruples even to tell themselves that they are by no means of equal importance with the College of New-Jersey; and some of them, whose public spirit has the predominancy over private friendship and self-interest, are sensible of it. I am sure if I had appeared in the same light to your Board as I do to myself, I should have escaped all this perplexity. It is the real sentiment of my heart, without affectation of humility, that I am extremely unfit for so important a trust, the most important, in my view, that an ecclesiastic can sustain in America; and I have never as much as suspected that it would be my duty to accept it, except upon the supposition of its being a desperate case, if I should reject it; and it is my fear, that it may be so, *considerandis considerandis*, that makes me so extremely uneasy. When I reflect upon such things as these, I am *constrained* to send you this answer, though I am afraid out of season, that if the Trustees can agree to elect my worthy friend, Mr. Finley, with any tolerable degree of cordiality and unanimity, I shall be perfectly satisfied, and rejoice in the advantageous exchange. But if not, I shall think it my duty to accept the offer, if the Trustees judge it proper to continue or renew my election.

"If this should come to hand before another election, I give you leave, sir, though with trembling hesitation, to communicate it to the Board; if not, I beg you would forever conceal it, for the real difficulty of the affair, and the natural caution and skepticism of my mind, have given my conduct such an appearance of fickleness that I am

quite ashamed of it. My life, sir, I look upon as sacred to God and the public; and the service of God and mankind is not a *local* thing, in my view. Wheresoever it appears to me I may perform it, to the greatest advantage, there, I hope, I should choose to fix my residence, whether in Hanover, Princeton, or even Lapland or Japan. But my anxieties in the present case have proceeded from the want of light to determine where the sphere of my usefulness would be the most extensive.

"If matters should turn out so as to constrain me to come to Nassau Hall, I only beg early intelligence of it, by Mr. Smith, who intends to revisit Hanover shortly, or by post, and I shall prepare for my journey and the removal of my family with all possible expedition. The honor which you, sir, and the other gentlemen of the Trustees, who are in other instances such good judges of merit, have done me, is such a strong temptation to vanity, as requires no small degree of self-knowledge to resist.

"I shall always retain a grateful sense of it, and I pray God it may have no bad influence upon a heart so deeply infected with the uncreaturely vice of pride."

After dispatching this letter, "extorted from him," as he said, "by irresistible anxieties," a second messenger (Halsey) from the Trustees, appears to have intimated to Mr. Davies, that in the event of his declining the chair, the Rev. Samuel Finley would be the choice of the Board, and that he was, by some, already preferred to himself. Accordingly, on the 18th October,

Davies writes again to Cowell, to urge Finley's election:

"Since you and a majority of the Trustees have thought me fit to fill so important a seat, you must also think me in some measure fit to judge of the proper qualifications of a President; I therefore beg you would not only believe me sincere, but also have some little regard to my judgment, when I recommend Mr. Finley, from long and intimate acquaintance with him, as the best qualified person in the compass of my knowledge in America, for that high trust; and incomparably better qualified than myself. And though the want of some superficial accomplishments for empty popularity, may keep him in obscurity for some little time, his hidden worth, in a few months, or years at most, will blaze out to the satisfaction, and even astonishment of all candid men. A disappointment of this kind will certainly be of service to the College; but as to me, I greatly fear I should mortify my friends with a disappointment of an opposite nature; like an inflamed meteor, I might cast a glaring light and attract the gaze of mankind for a little while, but the flash would soon be over, and leave me in my native obscurity.

"I should be glad you would write to me by post, after the next meeting of the Trustees, what choice they shall have made; for though I never expect another application to me, yet I feel myself interested in the welfare of the College, and shall be anxious to hear what conclusion may be formed upon this important affair."

When the Trustees met in November,(1758,)

after conferring, and comparing letters, it was put to vote whether Mr. Davies' refusal was to be regarded as final. Upon two ballots, the voters of "not final" and "non liquet" had the majority, but to remove the embarrassment, they yielded; upon which the Rev. Jacob Green, of Morris county, father of Dr. Ashbel Green, was chosen Vice-President, and the election of President postponed till the next May. I find these particulars in a letter from Mr. Cowell to Mr. Davies, dated at Trenton, December 25, 1758, to which he adds:

"If I may be allowed to guess, I think:

"1. That you will be elected next May;

"2. That if you are not, Mr. Finley will not be.

"I think with you, dear sir, that the College of New-Jersey ought to be esteemed of as much importance to the interests of religion and liberty, as any institution of the kind in America. I am sensible your leaving Virginia is attended with very great difficulties, but I can not think your affairs are of equal importance with the College of New-Jersey."

At the May meeting Messrs. Davies and Finley were both nominated. Davies was elected, and in July arrived in Princeton. Mr. Cowell's interest and activity as a trustee did not abate

upon the accession of his friend and favorite candidate; but scarcely had eighteen months elapsed from the President's inauguration, before both were in their graves. The last relic of their correspondence shows that Mr. Cowell's medical skill (for he had studied and on emergencies practised medicine) was valued in Princeton. Under date of February 15, 1760, Mr. Davies writes:

"Doctor Scudder has inoculated a number of the students, who are all likely to do well, except one, who was taken with the pleurisy about the time of his inoculation, and had an inveterate cold for some time before. The Doctor's own family and his father-in-law were inoculated about the same time, and one of them is so ill that he has not been able to give good attendance here. I made an explicit reserve of liberty to consult any other physician upon the appearance of any other alarming symptom, therefore I send for you at the request of many, as well as my own motion. I beg you would come immediately, for the young man's life is in evident danger, and my dear Mrs. Davies is so affected in her mouth, etc., with the mercurial and antimonial preparations, that she has been in exquisite agony, and stands in great need of immediate relief. I long to hear from my promising pupil under your care."

Chapter Seventh.

Mr. Cowell's Death and Burial.

1759—1760.

In June, 1759, Mr. Cowell was present in the Presbytery, which met at Trenton, but his health was probably then failing, as a request was made from the congregation, that his pulpit "might be supplied at least in part during his illness." He was present again at the meeting in Princeton, July 25, 1759; at which time his friend, President Davies, was received from Hanover. At Baskingridge, October 30 of that year, another petition was brought from Trenton, "praying that as Mr. Cowell is unable through sickness to attend the ministerial function, Mr. Guild might be ordered to supply them every third Sabbath." In compliance with this, Mr. Guild, pastor of the Hopewell (Pennington) church was directed to "supply as much of his time as he can at Trenton." Mr. Cowell was present at the meeting of Pres-

bytery, held at Nassau Hall, March 11, 1760. The regular Moderator being absent, Mr. Cowell was chosen in his place, and President Davies acted as clerk. One of Mr. Cowell's successors, William Kirkpatrick, was at this meeting, and another, Elihu Spencer, sat as a corresponding member.

"Mr. Cowell represented to the Presbytery that he has been long indisposed in body, and unable to discharge the duties of the pastoral relation to his congregation in Trenton, and therefore requested that he might be dismissed from it; and the congregation also by their petition, and the declaration of their commissioners, intimate their acquiescence in it.

"The Presbytery therefore consent to the request, and do hereby dismiss Mr. Cowell from said congregation; yet they affectionately recommend it to him that, if it should please God to restore him to an ability to exercise his ministry, he would preach as often as he can in that congregation while vacant, and in other vacancies as he shall have opportunity."

The last session of Presbytery, which Mr. Cowell attended, was at Lawrenceville (Maidenhead) September 17, 1760, the sixth meeting held in that year. On the 28th of October Messrs. Kirkpatrick and Treat were deputed to supply Trenton.

Mr. Cowell's decease took place on the first day of December, 1760, at his residence in Trenton. He was in the fifty-seventh year of his age, having served the Trenton people in the town and country congregations nearly twenty-four years.

His beloved friend Davies, who was then in the middle of the second year of his presidency of Nassau Hall, was called upon to preach in the church on the day of the interment. He fulfilled this office with great affection and fidelity, and it adds interest to the narrative to know that in a few weeks afterwards, (February 4, 1761,) that most eminent preacher, just past the thirty-sixth year of his age, was himself suddenly removed by death from the new sphere of usefulness and fame, upon which he had entered; so that on the page of the Synod's Minutes of May 20, 1761, is found the sentence: "The Presbytery of New-Brunswick further report, that it has pleased God to remove by death, since our last, the Rev. Mr. President Davies and the Rev. Mr. David Cowell."

In his fatal illness Mr. Davies remarked, that he had been undesignedly led to preach his own funeral sermon. He alluded to the fact that he

had delivered a discourse on New Year's day (1761) from the words in Jeremiah, "Thus saith the Lord, this year thou shalt die." He took this text, however, after having been informed that President Burr had preached from it on the first day of the year in which he died. Davies' sermon at the College on the first day of the preceding year, is entitled, "A New-Year's Gift." The text of that is: "And that knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of sleep, for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed." It is the fifty-ninth in the published collection.

The autograph, from which Davies preached at Mr. Cowell's funeral, is now before me. It is a sermon on the words from the Epistle to the Hebrews, "Let us labor, therefore, to enter into that rest," adapted to the occasion by a new introduction, and by what appears to be an impartial and discriminating estimate of the character of the deceased. As these parts of the discourse are interesting as relics of the great preacher, as well as for their descriptions of a prominent person in our history, I shall quote them in full.

The new opening was thus:

"While death reigns in our world, and spreads its pale

trophies so often before our eyes, how gloomy and dismal would our prospect be, especially at funeral occasions, if Jesus had not brought life and immortality to light by the Gospel! And how intolerable would be the doubtful struggles, the toils and fatigues of life, if we had no prospect of Rest! Add an everlasting duration to them, and they become too oppressive for human nature. But blessed be God, there remaineth a rest for the people of God; a rest that may be obtained by hard labor, though lost by unbelief. 'Let us labor, therefore, to enter into that rest.' Here heaven is represented under the agreeable idea of a time of *rest;* the way to obtain it pointed out, namely, by hard *labor*, and the *necessity* of laboring hard implied. These are the several topics I now intend to illustrate for the religious improvement of this melancholy occasion."

Having completed this plan in the usual fullness of his manner, the discourse closed with the new matter prepared for the day, as follows:

"What remains of the present hour, I would devote more immediately to the memory of the dead. To pronounce a panegyric on the dead is supposed to be the principal design of funeral sermons; and to praise the dead is a debt which envy itself will allow us to discharge. But it is not a regard to ancient custom, nor an apprehension that the eulogium will not be envied nor disputed, that excite me at present to take some particular notice of the character of our worthy friend, who now lies a pale corpse before us. It is rather my desire to concur with the sentence of heaven, and to praise the virtue which I

cheerfully hope has ere now received the approbation of the Supreme Judge. It is my full conviction that the character of the deceased was in many respects worthy of the imitation of the living, and that in recommending it, I shall recommend virtue and religion with advantage, as exemplified in life.

"Indeed, it would have relieved me from some anxiety, if my worthy friend had nominated some one to this service, whose long acquaintance with him would have enabled him to do justice to his memory, and exhibit a full view of his character. During the short time that I have been a resident of this Province, he has been my very intimate friend, and I have conversed freely with him in his most unguarded hours, when his conversation was the full image of his soul. But I had only a general acquaintance with him for ten of the years before, and of the earlier part of his life I had no personal knowledge, and have received but a very imperfect account from his earlier acquaintances. But from what I have heard from persons of credit, or have known myself, I shall give you the following general sketch of his character; and as I would by no means incur the censure of flattery, or risk the reputation of my veracity, you may be assured I fully believe myself in the account I give of his character.

"The Rev. Mr. David Cowell was born at Dorchester, in the government of Massachusetts Bay, and educated at Harvard College. I am informed by one of his early friends, that the characteristics of his youth were a serious, virtuous, and religious turn of mind, free from the vices and vanities of the wild and thoughtless age, and a remarkable thirst for knowledge. The study of books was

both his amusement and serious business, while he was passing through his course of collegiate education, and even before he entered upon it, and I am witness how lively a taste for books and knowledge he cherished to the last.

"I am not able to give you an account of the sensations and impressions of his mind from divine things in early life, which were the beginnings of his religion. But as every effect must have an adequate cause, from what I have observed in him of the Christian temper, I conclude he had been the subject of such impressions.

"He appeared to me to have a mind steadily and habitually bent towards God and holiness. If his religion was not so warm and passionate as that of some, it was perhaps proportionally more evenly uniform and rational. He was not flighty and visionary, nor yet dull and senseless. His religion was not a transient passion, but appeared to be a settled temper.

"Humility and modesty, those gentle virtues, seemed to shine in him with a very amiable lustre. Far from being full of himself, far from taking airs of superiority, or giving himself the preference, he often imposed a voluntary silence upon himself, when he could have made an agreeable figure in conversation. He was fond of giving way to his brethren, with whom he might justly have claimed an equality, and to encourage modest worth in his inferiors. He was not impudently liberal of unasked advice, though very judicious, impartial, and communicative when consulted. He had an easy, graceful negligence in his carriage, a noble indifference about setting himself off. And though his intellectual furniture, his experience and

seniority might have been a strong temptation to the usual foible of vanity and self-sufficiency, I never have seen any thing in his conduct, that discovered a high estimate of his own accomplishments. Indeed, he seemed not to know them, though they were so conspicuous that many a man has made a very brilliant appearance with a small share of them.

"He had a remarkable command of his passions. Nothing boisterous or impetuous, nothing rash or fierce, appeared in his conduct, even in circumstances that would throw many others into a ferment. Had I not been told by one who has long and intimately known him, that he was capable of a manly resentment upon proper occasions, I should have concluded that he was generously insensible to personal injuries, for I can not recollect that ever I heard him speak a severe word, or discover the least degree of anger against any man upon earth. He appeared calm and unruffled amidst the storms of the world, peaceful and serene amidst the commotion and uproar of human passions.

"Far from sanguine, prattling forwardness, he was remarkably cautious and deliberate; slow to pronounce, slow to determine, and especially to censure, and therefore well guarded against extremes, and the many pernicious consequences of precipitant conclusions.

"In matters of debate, and especially of religious controversy, he was rather a moderator and compromiser than a party. Though he could not be neuter, but judged for himself to direct his own conduct, yet he did not affect to impose his sentiments upon others, nor set up his own understanding as an universal standard of truth. He

could exercise candor and forbearance without constraint or reluctance; and when he happened to differ in opinion from any of his brethren, even themselves could not but acknowledge and admire his moderation.

"His accomplishments as a man of sense and learning were very considerable. His judgment was cool, deliberate, and penetrating. His sentiments were well digested, and his taste elegant and refined. He had read not a few of the best modern authors, and though he did not often plod over the mouldy volumes of antiquity, he was no stranger to ancient literature, whether classical, philosophical, or historical. He could think as well as read, and the knowledge he collected from books, was well digested, and became his own. He had carefully studied the Sacred Scriptures, that grand accomplishment for a divine, and had a rational theory of the Christian system.

"He had an easy, natural vein of wit, which rendered his conversation extremely agreeable, and which he sometimes used with great dexterity to expose the rake, the fop, the infidel, and the other fools of the human species. But never did his humanity allow him to use this keen weapon to wound a friend, or the innocent, whether friend or foe. His wit was sacred to the service of virtue, or innocently volatile and lively to heighten the pleasure of conversation.

"He was a lover of mankind, and delighted in every office of benevolence. Benevolence appeared to me to be his predominant virtue, which gave a most amiable cast to his whole temper and conduct. Did he ever refuse to give relief or pleasure to any of his fellow-creatures, when

it was in his power to do it? I never had reason to think he did.

"That he might be able to support himself, without oppressing a small congregation, he applied some part of his time to the study and practice of physic, in which he made no inconsiderable figure. In this he was the friend of the poor, and spared neither trouble nor expense to relieve them.

"As I never had the happiness to hear him in the sacred desk, I can say but little of him in his highest character as a minister of the Gospel. But from what I know of his disposition, theological knowledge, and other religious performances, I doubt not but his sermons were judicious, serious, well-composed, and calculated to show men the way of salvation.

"In prayer, I am sure, he appeared humble, solemn, rational, and importunate, as a creature, a sinner in the presence of God; without levity, without affectation, without Pharisaical self-confidence.

"In the charter of the College of New-Jersey, he was nominated one of the trustees, and but few invested with the same trust, discharged it with so much zeal, diligence, and alacrity. His heart was set upon the prosperity of the infant institution, and he exerted himself in its service, nor did he forget it in his last moments.*

"This church has lost a judicious minister of the Gospel, and, as we hope, a sincere Christian; the world has lost an inoffensive, useful member of society; this town an agreeable, peaceable, benevolent inhabitant; the College

* Mr. Cowell bequeathed fifty pounds to the College.

of New-Jersey a father, and I have lost a friend; and I doubt not but public and private sorrow and lamentation will be in some measure correspondent, and express the greatness of the loss.

"Let us endeavor, my brethren, to copy his amiable character, and make his virtues our own. The character, indeed, is not perfect. The friend, the scholar, the minister, the Christian was still a man; a man of like passions with ourselves; and, therefore, he undoubtedly had his blemishes and infirmities. He is at best but a sinner sanctified and saved. However, I shall not describe his faults, because I hardly knew them, and because greater can be found almost every where. His virtues and graces are not so common, and therefore I have exhibited them to your view for imitation.

"With him the dubious conflict of life is over, and we hope he has entered into rest, and sweetly fallen asleep in Jesus. Let us also labor to enter into that rest, lest any of us fall by unbelief."

Mr. Cowell's body was deposited in the churchyard at Trenton, and the grave, which is within a few feet of the western wall of the church, is designated by a head-stone with the following inscription:

"In memory of the
Revd. Mr. DAVID COWELL.
Born in Dorchester, 1704.
Graduated in Harvard College, Cambridge, N. E., 1732.
Ordained at Trenton, 1736.
Died December the 1st, Ætatis suæ 56, 1760.

"A man of penetrating wit; solid judgment; strong memory; yet of great modesty, piety, and benevolence."

Mr. Cowell was an industrious preacher. There lies before me a memorandum, kept by him of the places and texts of his preaching, from June, 1735, to October, 1757. In those twenty-two years there is seldom a Sabbath without its record of service, besides the extra duties of sacramental seasons and funerals. On a very few Sabbaths is the entry of "non valui," (not well,) and but one or two "procellosus," (stormy.) The only observable blank is from April 10 to June 5, 1748, which is accounted for by the line, "went to New-England." He frequently administered the Lord's Supper at Maidenhead and Hopewell. Occasionally he supplied Fisher's Island, Rocky Hill, Bristol, Bordentown, Whippany, Elizabethtown, Abington, Norrington, Shrewsbury, Neshaminy. The few notes of funerals in this little register, may be of some chronological use or family interest.

1736, July 7. Mary Eli.
1739, January 31. Armitage.
1739, February 6. George Snow.
1741, December 26. Mrs. Green.
1742, January 10. Widow Furman.

1742, April 14. Slack's wife.
1742, July 11. Higbee.
1742, September 6. Margaret.
1743, June 16. Jones's child.
1744, March 21. Widow Reed.
1744, December 8. Mr. Yard.
1746, June 17. Stephen Rose.
1747, September 22. Mrs. Snow.
1747, October 21. Mrs. Yard.
1749, July 30. Hart.
1749, November 7. Howell's wife.
1749, December 19. Mr. Griffin.
1750, July 18. Susan Osborn.
1750, September 17. Mr. Paxton.
1751, January 7. Mr. Taylor.
1752, May 1. John Green.
1753, January 2. Rose's wife.
1754, December 1. William Green.
1756, September 5. Mr. Dagworthy.

The "widow Furman" in the list is commemorated by Professor Kalm, who, among other instances of American longevity, states, that "on January 8, 1742, died in Trenton, Mrs. Sarah Furman, a widow, aged ninety-seven years; leaving alive at the time of her decease five children, sixty-one grand-children, one hundred and eighty-two great-grand-children, and twelve great-great grand-children."*

* Kalm's Travels, vol. ii. 5.

The sermon of January 31, 1739, was preached at Pennington, at the interment of the Elder Enoch Armitage, and I quote a passage as a specimen of the preacher's style. The text was: "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word."

"The words of our text Mr. Armitage adopted as his own, and desired they might be discoursed upon at his funeral. Those most acquainted with him testified his disposition for peace. God had given him by nature a calm and quiet spirit, which was his ornament and glory. He was not subject to anger-heats and passions, as many others are, and this happy natural talent, assisted and improved by a religious principle and the love of God, was so bright and shining, that his moderation was known to all men who had the happiness of an intimate acquaintance with him. In his dealings he was strictly just and honest; to those in distress charitable, and ready to help and assist. In his conversation he was grave without moroseness, and pleasant without levity. From the quickness of his wit, and the strength and clearness of his judgment, he was ready on all occasions to bring out of the good treasure of his heart things new and old. The sum of his religion was love to God and his neighbor, without being rigid and contentious for things indifferent. The government of his family was with the greatest economy and religious order. His stated times for prayer, both private and secret, his times for instructing his family, for taking refreshment, and his times for following the works of his calling, fol-

lowed one another so constantly by turns, and in the revolution of such certain periods, that they seldom interfered, much less jostled out each other; and such a vein of religion ran through the whole, that his life was like the life of Enoch, whose name he bore, a walking with God. If we consider him at church, we shall find he was constant and devout in attendance upon God's public worship. In the management of church affairs, which was early committed to him, and continued to the last, he deservedly obtained that character of a good steward to be faithful; and as his management was the product of religious principles and a sound judgment, he had the satisfaction to see them approved by the wisest men and the best Christians. Such a religious, honest, and just walk in his own house, and in the house of God, procured to him the esteem of persons of all persuasions and all characters. If he was maligned by any self-conceited brethren, who run their own ways, and give liking unto nothing but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their anvil, as their ignorance was the cause, so that only can plead their excuse. A sovereign God gave him such a fiducial sight of Christ, and his own interest in him founded on the divine promises, that he adopted the words of good old Simeon for his own. He made it the business of his life to follow peace with all men, and it was his grief his endeavors succeeded no better. He desired to die in peace, and to have a hopeful prospect of peace after his death. With respect to himself, his prayer was eminently answered. When he passed through the valley of death, God was with him. Death gave one friendly stroke, and it was over—so that he rather seemed to conquer, than to be overcome."

One of the sermons is marked as preached on Friday, November 23, 1739, from the text of the crucified thieves, and a note is appended, "Execution, Trenton." This was the execution which brought Whitefield to Trenton on the 21st of November, as already quoted from his journal.

The only names of ministers that appear as relieving him in his own pulpit through all those years, are Guild, Huston, Leonard, Miller, Phillips of Boston, Munson of New-England, and Spencer.

Mr. Cowell bequeathed fifty pounds to "the Presbyterian congregation of Trenton; the principal to remain good, and the interest thereof to be applied for the benefit of the congregation forever." He left an equal sum to the College of New-Jersey. The will was signed only four days before his death, "being sick and weak in body, but of perfect mind and memory," and was witnessed by Samuel Tucker, Jr., Arthur Howell, Benjamin Yard, and George Davis. Many of the wills recorded at that time have the same religious phraseology as that of Mr. Cowell, the testamentary part of which begins thus: "Principally and first of all I give and recommend my soul

into the hands of God that gave it; and for my body, I commit it to the earth, to be buried in a Christianly and decent manner, nothing doubting but at the general resurrection, I shall receive the same again by the mighty power of God." It is to be feared that the scriveners' pious formulas are not always subscribed by testators with as much sincerity, as they doubtless were in this good man's case.

Among the few extant manuscripts of Mr. Cowell is a fragment of notes of a funeral sermon, marked as preached April 1, 1744, at the "burying of Mr. Home." It contains an expression of the preacher's intention "not to make encomiums on the Honorable person to whose remains we have been paying the last friendly office. That is a task to which I am on several accounts unequal. Besides, I humbly conceive the proper use to be made of instances of mortality, is to instruct and exhort the living, according to that of the wise man, Eccles. 7 : 2." This defunct was undoubtedly Mr. Archibald Home, who was Deputy Secretary of the Province in the time of Governor Morris, and who upon his recommendation to the Lords of Trade (October 18, 1740) was appointed to a seat in the

Council, made vacant by the death of Robert Lettis Hooper.*

When the church was taken down in 1805, a vault was discovered under the broad aisle, containing the remains of two bodies in their respective coffins, the "dress and furniture" of which, (according to the papers of the day,) "and the habiliments of the corpses, denoted to have been persons of distinction."† A year after the discovery, another newspaper made this publication: "A gentleman, on whom we can rely, and who says he will vouch for the authenticity of his statement, informs us, that the name of one of the persons found in the vault was FREEMAN, a man of considerable connections in the West-Indies, who removed to and resided at Bloomsbury with his family, and was interred about seventy years ago. The other was ARCHIBALD HUME, Esquire, a Scotchman of very considerable literary acquirements, and brother to the celebrated Sir John Hume, who came over and resided in Trenton some months after the decease of his brother."‡

* The Papers of Lewis Morris. Pp. 122, 137, 219, 283.

† Trenton *Federalist*, April 22, 1805.

‡ Trenton *True American*, April 21, 1806. "Home," or "Hume," is

I have seen the will of Archibald Home, which was made February 24, 1743. The device of the testator's seal is an adder holding a rose, which is the crest of a Home family, in which there are several baronets named Sir John; but I can not find any trace of such a resident in Trenton. Mr. Archibald Home bequeathed all his property to his brother James Home, Esq., of Charleston, South-Carolina. His executors were Robert Hunter Morris, Thomas Cadwalader, and the legatee. The witnesses to the will were Joseph Paxton and Moreton Appleby. The probate was certified October 5, 1744, by "James Home, Secr'y." This suggests the conjecture that he was the brother reported in the newspaper as "Sir John," and that upon removing from Charleston to Trenton, upon Archibald's decease, he was put into the vacant secretaryship.

There is a tradition that connects one of the bodies in the vault with the family of Governor Cosby. I supposed this to be a mistake of the name of Cosby for Morris, and that the person referred to was Mr. Home, until I found the fol-

the same family-name. "My father's family is a branch of the Earl of Home's or Hume's." (*Autobiography of David Hume.*)

lowing item in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, of March 7–14, 1737–38:

"We learn from Trenton that Thomas Freeman, Esquire, son-in-law to the late Governor Cosby, died there on Saturday last after a few hours' illness."

This would reconcile the tradition with the newspaper paragraphs, and appears to identify the body. It is part of the old report, that one of the interments was by torch-light. Mr. Cowell's memorandum shows, that Mr. Home's funeral-sermon was on Sunday, and was a second service on that day. On the removal of the site of the church in 1839, the vault was a second time examined, before it was carefully closed, but neither the inscription nor arms upon the mouldering plate that was found in it, could be deciphered. That could scarcely have been a family-vault, in which any connections of such enemies as Morris and Cosby would be associated.*

* Governor Cosby's wife was a daughter of Lord Halifax. Their eldest daughter was married to a younger son of the Duke of Grafton.

Chapter Eighth.

The First Charter of the Trenton Church — Trustees.

1756—1760.

It was during the pastorate of Mr. Cowell that the first charter of incorporation was obtained, and his name stands first among the corporators. The date of this instrument is September 8, 1756. It runs in the name of George the Second, through the Provincial Governor Belcher, and incorporates

The Rev. David Cowell,
Charles Clark,
Andrew Reed,
Joseph Yard,
Arthur Howell,
William Green,
Alexander Chambers,

and their successors, by the name of "The Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Trenton." The Charter follows the phraseology of others

given to our churches under the same administration,* in the preambulary acknowledgment that "the advancement of true religion and virtue is absolutely necessary for the promotion of the peace, order, and prosperity of the State, and that it is the duty of all Christian Princes and Governors, by the law of God, to do all they can for the encouragement thereof;" and also that "the known loyalty of the petitioners, and the Presbyterians in general, to us, their firm affection to our person and government, and the Protestant succession in our royal house, gave the petitioners hopes of all reasonable indulgence and favor within the same colony, where the religious rights of mankind are so happily preserved, and where our equal grace and bounty to all our Protestant faithful subjects, however differing in opinion about lesser matters, has hitherto been so sensibly felt and enjoyed."

Of the lay members of the first Board of Trustees I herewith furnish all the information within my reach.

Charles Clark came to Trenton from Long Island, and occupied a farm in the township near

* See Murray's "Elizabethtown," p. 62. Stearns's "Newark," p. 193.

the country church. He is recorded as present at every meeting of the Trustees from 1757 to 1775. On the night of the battle of Trenton, December 26, 1776, he met his death by falling into the fire of his own hearth. In 1777 his son Benjamin was elected a trustee in his place. Another son, Daniel, was in the Board with his father from 1766 to 1788. At the annual meeting of 1777, "Daniel Clark and Benjamin Clark informed the Board that their father, Charles Clark, Esq., deceased, had left the congregation twenty pounds, to be put at interest, the interest to be annually applied towards the support of their minister. They produced the will of their late father, and paid the twenty pounds to Mr. Alexander Chambers, who put the same to interest to Mr. John Howell at six per cent."

Benjamin died November 25, 1785, in his fifty-fifth year. The *Gazette* of the week says: "He served in the magistracy with reputation, both before and since the Revolution. The estimation he was held in by the neighborhood was manifest from the numerous and respectable attendants on his funeral, and his loss will be sensibly felt, not only by his family but by the Church, and the county in which he lived."

Of Andrew Reed, the next on the list of trustees, I have given all I know in a previous chapter. There are stones in the Trenton churchyard, marked, Sarah, wife of Andrew Reed, March 15, 1739; Ann, daughter of Andrew Reed, July 4, 1757, æt. 14; and three infant Reeds, Francis, September 12, 1747; Thomas, February 7, 1754; Andrew, Jr., July 7, 1758.

Joseph Yard belonged to a family, which appears among the earliest settlers of Trenton, and spread into numerous branches. It is said that there was a doubt whether the name of Yard had not a superior claim to that of Trent for the new locality. Our trustee came from England with his four brothers, Benjamin, William, John, and Jethro. Benjamin was an elder of this church in 1765, and it is probably his death which is recorded as having taken place in October, 1808, in his ninety-fourth year. Joseph acted as trustee until 1762, and was Clerk of the Board.

Arthur Howell's name appears on the minutes of May 8, 1762, for the last time. On the sixth of December of that year his will was before the surrogate. His "trusty and beloved

friend Obadiah Howell" was one of his executors.

William Green was in office until 1764. This family, like the Howells and Yards, is too ramified to be traced for any object of the present work.

Alexander Chambers, the last-named corporator, belonged to a family which has its fifth and sixth generations to represent it at this time. I avail myself of a paper prepared by Mr. John S. Chambers, to furnish all the information necessary to my purpose.

"John Chambers, the ancestor of the Chambers family of Trenton, came to America from the county of Antrim in the north of Ireland, about the year 1730.

"His tombstone stands near the present church-edifice in good preservation, by the inscription on which it appears that he died September 19th, 1747, at the age of seventy years.

"He had several children, of whom his son Alexander continued to live in Trenton. Alexander was his second son, and was born in Ireland in the year 1716. He was one of the first trustees named in the Charter of the Presbyterian Church of Trenton, given from the King through Gov. Belcher, and held the office from September 8th, 1756, until his death, September 16th, 1798, a period of forty-two years, during all which time, as is shown by the

Trustees' Book of Minutes, his name is recorded as present at every meeting of the Board. He was elected Treasurer of the Board May 6th, 1766, and performed the duties of that office till August 1st, 1796, a period of thirty years, when he resigned on account of his advancing age. He was also chosen President of the Board on the 5th of May, 1783, which office he filled till his death, a period of fifteen years.

"He was by occupation a turner, spinning-wheel and chair-maker. He built the brick house on the corner of State and Willow streets, for many years used as a store, and known as Chambers' Corner, and carried on store-keeping in the old mud house built by his father, which stood adjoining.

"He died Sept. 16th, 1798, at the age of eighty-two, and lies buried near his father in the church-yard. The first bequest in his will is in these words:

"'Item. I give unto the Presbyterian Church in Trenton, Thirty Pounds, to be put at interest, and the interest to go towards the support of a minister, said Thirty Pounds to be paid to the Trustees one year after my decease.'

"Alexander Chambers left several children. Two of the sons, John and Alexander, remained in Trenton. John carried on the trade of his father at his own shop at the head of town in Warren street. Alexander converted the brick house built by his father on the corner of State and Willow streets into a store, and carried on an extensive business for many years. He was the first to establish Bloomsbury as a port for sloops, and built a wharf and storehouse there about the year 1803; the transportation

business having been previously conducted at Lamberton, about a mile below.

"On the 7th of August, 1799, about a year after the death of his father, he was chosen a trustee, and so continued till his death in 1824, a period of twenty-five years. John S. Chambers, son of the last-mentioned John Chambers, was chosen a trustee November 24th, 1823, and so continued till his death in November, 1834, a period of eleven years; for the last two of which he was also President of the Board, having been elected to that office October 13th, 1832."

To this I may add that the son of the last-named, who furnishes this paper, is the present Clerk of the Board. There was a John Chambers in the eldership in 1760–4. My correspondent says:

"I have not yet ascertained who the elder, John Chambers, was. It is evident from the dates he could not have been the ancestor who first came over, as I at first supposed."

According to the terms of the charter, the seven trustees were to hold their office until the first Tuesday of June, 1757, when and thereafter the trustees were to be elected by "the Minister, Elders, and Deacons of the said Presbyterian Church and Congregation." This unpopular feature of ecclesiastical corporations passed away

in due time, together with the loyalty to the house of Hanover; but the minister, elders, and deacons continued, until after the independence, to elect the trustees, of whom the minister himself was usually one, and also President of the Board. As such, he was constituted by the charter keeper of the books, seal, and all papers of the corporation.* In 1760 the pastor was Treasurer as well as President.

In 1760, June 12, John Chambers, John Hendrickson, and Stephen Rose were "chosen elders," and on the same day is this entry on the trustees' minutes: "Memorandum, that it is agreed by the congregation now met, that the Presbyterian Congregation of Trenton shall annually meet on the first Tuesday in June to choose elders, and that then the minister, elders, and deacons shall proceed to the choice of trustees of said Presbyterian church." From this provision, and occasional subsequent records, it seems that there was for a time a departure from the principle of our church, that the lay-eldership, like the clerical, is perpetual, and is not open, even as to the exercise of the office, to re-

* The original Charter is still preserved. It is recorded in Book Q, p. 163, State House.

peated elections, as is the custom of our sister Presbyterian Church, the Reformed Dutch. It must be remembered that this was nearly thirty years before the constitution of our American Church was framed.

In 1760 the name of Moore Furman appears in the Board in the place of Andrew Reed. In 1762, Obadiah Howell filled the vacancy made by the death of Mr. Cowell. A personal notice of Mr. Furman will come in more appropriately under a later date. Obadiah Howell was a trustee until 1770. He lived on a farm which is still in the family, on the Scotch road on the borders of Trenton.

Chapter Ninth.

Ministry of the Rev. William Kirkpatrick —His History.

1760—1766.

Soon after the Rev. Mr. Cowell's withdrawal from the pastorate, and before his decease, the attention of the people, perhaps at his suggestion, was turned towards Mr. William Kirkpatrick as his successor.

Neither the place nor time of Mr. Kirkpatrick's birth is known. Judging from his age, as given without dates on his grave-stone, he was born about 1726. He probably had not a liberal education at the usual age, as he was at least thirty years old when he took his Bachelor's degree at Princeton. This was with the class of 1757, a year noted in the college history as that in which it was removed from Newark to Princeton, and in which its distinguished President Aaron Burr died. Among his class-mates were the young men afterwards eminent as Governor Joseph Reed, of

Pennsylvania, and the Rev. Alexander Macwhorter, D.D., and in the class next below his were John V. and William Tennent, sons of the Rev. William Tennent, Jr. It was in the March of that year that the College was blessed (according to the language of Gilbert Tennent) with "an extraordinary appearance of the divine power and presence there."* In the next year, (June 13 and 14, 1758,) at the meeting of the Presbytery of New-Brunswick, which was the first after the union of the Synods of New-York and Philadelphia, and when Messrs. Cowell and Guild had been transferred to it from the Presbytery of Philadelphia, Kirkpatrick† and Macwhorter were taken under trials as candidates for the ministry. Upon their preliminary examination the Presbytery pronounced themselves "well pleased that they can with so great freedom encourage them in their design." The theme for Kirkpatrick's exegesis was "an certitudo subjectiva salutis sit de essentia fidei justificantis:" his trial text was

* Preface to Sermons. Rev. Wm. Tennent, of Freehold, wrote an account of the state of things to Dr. Finley, which is printed in Dr. Alexander's "Log College," pp. 367–9. In that letter he mentions that both of his sons, John and William, were partakers "of the shower of blessing."

† His name is written Killpatrick in the earlier minutes.

Rom. 3 : 28. On the 25th of the next month, the Presbytery met at Princeton, when no other business was attended to but the hearing and approving of the compositions of the two candidates, and giving them texts for further exercises. These were heard on the 15th August, at Princeton ; Kirkpatrick's second trial text was Philippians 4 : 5 ; and the course of trials being completed, they were licensed, and both of them were immediately sent out to supply vacant congregations till the Fall Presbytery. Kirkpatrick's appointments were to Oxford, Forks of Delaware, Greenwich, Bethlehem, Kingwood, and wherever else he should find opportunity. In October he was appointed to the same circuit, with Shrewsbury added to the places named.

In the early part of 1759 he wrote the following letter to Dr. Bellamy, of Connecticut :*

"Newark, Feb. 12, 1759.

"Rev. and worthy Sir: I think, if I remember right, I came under a promise of writing to you, which, if made, I am now about to fulfill.

"I remember we had some conversation about George's Town on Kennebeck river when I was with you. I have since seen a man who once lived on the spot, who seems to

* In the manuscript collections of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

be an intelligent, sober man, and his account of that people discourages from thoughts of settling there. He says they are a remarkably contentious, brawling, difficult people, and that no minister can have any comfort, or be long useful with them. I have had an invitation from the Presbytery of New Castle, (of which Mr. Finley is a member,) to come under their care, and settle among them, should Providence open a way for it. Likewise I have had a probationary call from a place under the care of our own Presbytery, (viz., New-Brunswick.) And another of the same kind from a congregation near Elizabethtown in York Presbytery bounds. I have not yet seen my way clear to accept of an invitation from any of these places, but continue to itinerate among the small vacancies towards the frontiers of this Province. If any door of more extensive usefulness opens with you, I would be very glad if you would take care to inform me; my inclinations lead me much to New-England. If you can send a letter to this place from whence I write, or to Mr. Hazard's in New-York, directed to me at Princeton, it will soon come to hand. However the matter stands, I would be very glad of a letter from you, at least before the sitting of our Presbytery, (the third week in June.)

"I am lately informed that some of the trustees of our College have sent a messenger yesterday to Mr. Davies, a third time to invite him to the Presidentship of our College, after two former denials—we wait the event. Mr. Green presides *pro tempore*. I have lately heard from good Mr. Finley that he is well.

"Religion is here at a low ebb. Truth is fallen in the streets, and equity can not enter. Christians fallen from

their first love, and vice triumphant. A spirit of deadness prevails. How long, Lord, how long?

"But being in great hurry, I can not add any more, but salutations to Mrs. Bellamy, best respects to Mr. Wells and Mr. Day, with affectionate duty and regard to yourself from

"Rev. sir, your unworthy son and servant,

"WM. KIRKPATRICK."

In June, 1759, the united congregations of Bethlehem and Kingwood brought a call for Mr. Kirkpatrick. There was also a request or "supplication," as such petitions were called, from the people of Tohikan (or Tehicken or Tinicum) that he should supply their pulpit. But the Synod, which in those days often exercised what are now considered Presbyterial prerogatives, had, in its sessions a month before, made other arrangements for the Presbytery's probationer.* It "ordered, that Messrs. Macwhorter, Kirkpatrick, and Latta, take a journey to Virginia and Carolina, as soon as they can this sum-

* Presbyteries would act for Sessions, too. Thus in October, 1756, a request was presented by Jacob Reeder, a member of Hopewell and Maidenhead congregations, "that for the sake of the conveniency of his family, the Presbytery would please to dismiss him from the aforesaid congregation, (which yet he professed a regard to,) that he may join with Amwell; and the Presbytery taking into consideration said request, judge it to be reasonable, and grant it."

mer, or ensuing fall, and spend some months in those parts;" and the Synod "further considering the destitute condition of Hanover, and the uncertainty of their being supplied, if suppliers are left to their own discretion, respecting the time of their going to Virginia," directed that Kirkpatrick should be at Hanover by the third Sabbath of July, to be followed by the two other licentiates in September and November; and their respective Presbyteries were counselled to "take care that these gentlemen fulfill this appointment, and neither prescribe nor allow them employment in our bounds, so as to disappoint this our good intention." The direction of their work was to lie with the Presbytery of Hanover, which belonged to the same Synod. Deferring to the superior authority, the Presbytery took no order upon the Tohikan supplication, but directed their two probationers to supply vacancies as far as they could before their journey South.

In view of their mission, the Presbytery determined to hasten their ordination. They gave to Kirkpatrick for his trial sermon the text, "The poor have the Gospel preached to them;" and for a Latin exegesis, the perseverance of the

saints.* These were presented at Cranbury, July 4, 1759, and both Kirkpatrick and Macwhorter were ordained on that day. After all, none of the three fulfilled the Synod's appointment; but whatever were their reasons, (Macwhorter's was his call to Newark,) they were admitted to be sufficient by the Synod, at their annual meeting in 1760. Mr. Kirkpatrick, in the mean time, had declined the Bethlehem and Kingwood call; and had received one from Hanover, Virginia.

The Trenton congregation now first signified their inclination to him. On the day (March 11, 1760) on which the Presbytery released Mr. Cowell from that charge, they were petitioned to

* A second exegesis used to be required of candidates, besides the one given for licensure. The Minutes of the Presbytery of New-Brunswick for October, 1761, providing trials for certain licentiates in view of ordination, state "that these three young gentlemen represented to the Presbytery their great fatigue and continued hurry in riding from place to place, and begged to be excused from making exegeses, as usual before ordination, and these their requests were granted." In the last century a branch of trial was sometimes introduced, which would scarcely be considered reverent now. In the licensure of Charles Tennent, by the Presbytery of Philadelphia in 1736, record is made of "a previous test of his ability in *prayer*." The examinations on scholarship were more specific than with us; for example, Latta and Anderson, at one sederunt, were examined on "Logic, Pneumatics, and Ontology." (Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, 1765.)

send Mr. Kirkpatrick to supply the pulpit, and he was accordingly directed to preach there "as many Sabbaths as may consist with his other obligations between this and the next Presbytery."

But another and different kind of field was inviting him. The French war, though near its close, was still calling out the loyal colonists to the frontiers. Kirkpatrick, through his associations with Hanover Presbytery, may have caught the martial spirit of such sermons of Davies, as the one we read "on the curse of cowardice," preached "at a general muster, May 8, 1758, with a view to raise a company for Captain Samuel Meredith," or the one "preached to Captain Overton's independent company of volunteers." But in the French and Revolutionary wars our clergymen required no special stimulus to accompany the troops, at least as chaplains. All we know of Kirkpatrick's engagement is derived from this entry on the minutes of his Synod, May 21, 1760:

"'Tis allowed that Messrs. Alexander McDowel and Hector Alison go as chaplains to the Pennsylvania forces, and that Mr. Kirkpatrick go with the New-Jersey forces, the ensuing campaign."

That his absence was not expected to be long, is intimated by the recommendation subjoined by the Synod, "that Mr. Kirkpatrick pay a visit to the people of Windham on his return." If he went at the time mentioned, he was back in season for the meeting of Presbytery in Princeton, February 3, 1761, at which he was clerk.

Supplications were made to Presbytery from various quarters for his services as a supply, or as a candidate for settlement; and on the 28th April, 1761, a regular call was presented from the Trenton congregation. No further order was taken in regard to it at that meeting, but it was probably with a view of affording an opportunity of making up his mind, that the Presbytery appointed Mr. Parkhurst, a new licentiate, to supply four Sabbaths at Trenton, and deferred giving Kirkpatrick any appointment till the meeting in the intervals of the next Synod.

At that Synod (May, 1761) we find Mr. Kirkpatrick one of a committee of nine to whom was referred the consideration of what was to be done for the better support of John Brainerd, who had left Newark at the solicitation of the Indians, made destitute by the death of his brother David, and had become his successor in the mission. Cross-

wicks, a place hallowed in the memory of the whole Church by these associations, is but eight miles from Trenton, and Mr. Kirkpatrick appears to have had the leading of the business devolved on him, as, though last-named on the committee, the overture, urging an addition to the missionary force as well as the funds, is minuted as coming from him. The Synod, however, concluded that as, after all their inquiry, no new missionary presented himself, they could do no more than direct a hundred and fifty pounds to be raised for Mr. Brainerd for the ensuing year. Two years after this, (May, 1763,) when the Synod appointed Messrs. Brainerd and Beatty to visit "the distressed frontier inhabitants and to report their distresses," and also what opportunities were opened for the Gospel among the Indian nations, Mr. Kirkpatrick was made the alternate of either who might fail.

Between the hours occupied by the Synod at the session of 1761, the Presbytery had a special meeting, in the proceedings of which Mr. Kirkpatrick was an interested party. The minutes, drawn probably by his own hand, as he was clerk, are thus:

"Applications were made from Elizabethtown, Bruns-

wick, and Deerfield for the labors of Mr. Kirkpatrick till our next Fall Presbytery. The Presbytery conclude to leave the disposal of his time entirely to himself, as he is supposed to be best acquainted with the necessity of these vacancies; and the Presbytery advise these vacancies not to insist upon his tarrying long among them, unless they design to put in a call for him; as they declare this to be their design, and he appears disposed for settlement."

It would seem from this, though there is no record to the effect, that the Trenton call had not been accepted. Neither was it declined. From the complexion of the proceedings all through these years, and from the subsequent transactions, I should judge that Mr. Kirkpatrick preferred Trenton, but that the congregation were so backward on the point of salary or other arrangements, that he held the matter in suspense. Perhaps the minute last copied was ingeniously worded by himself so as to suggest motives to the people of Trenton to be more in earnest, if they wished their call to be preferred above the others that were coming in at every Presbytery. That that people supposed they had a special claim upon him, is seen in the tenor of the proceedings of a special meeting summoned for Au-

gust 11, 1761, at Trenton, to dispose of a fresh invitation.

"A call was brought in by Capt. Samuel Morris and Capt. Wm. Craighead, commissioners from the congregation of Hanover, in Virginia, soliciting the settlement of Mr. Kirkpatrick among them as their minister, which was objected to by the congregation of Trenton; and the Presbytery, having deliberately heard and maturely considered the arguments and reasons offered by both parties, and having likewise had a declaration by Mr. Kirkpatrick of his sentiments and inclinations relative to the case, came to the following conclusion, namely, that, although they would gladly concur with the congregation of Hanover in their call, yet as they can not think it their duty to appoint Mr. Kirkpatrick contrary to his own inclination and judgment to settle among them, they judge that it is inexpedient to present him the said call."

It appears, therefore, that he continued to serve the Trenton congregation without installment; but took his share with the other members of the Presbytery and Synod in giving an occasional Sabbath to the numerous vacancies in their extended bounds. Among the places thus visited by him from time to time were Mount Holly, Hardwick, Smithfield, Springfield, Black-river, Burlington, Bristol, Amwell, Williamsburgh, (Virginia,) Second Church Philadelphia,

Boundbrook, Tehicken. At one time, (November 2, 1763,) the Presbytery of Philadelphia, being applied to by the Rev. Gilbert Tennent for a supply for his pulpit during a winter, on account of his ill-health, the Presbytery advised the congregation to ask the Presbytery of New-Brunswick, to allow Messrs. Kirkpatrick and Enoch Green to supply them as much as they can.

Towards the end of the year (1761) commissioners from the Trenton congregation appear to have proposed to the Presbytery some advance on the amount of salary previously offered to Mr. Kirkpatrick. The Presbytery expressed their gratification at the exertion made to this end, but pronounced the "medium proposed" to be insufficient. As the commissioners, however, had given their reason to hope that a still further effort would be made for "said medium's being increased," Presbytery advised Mr. Kirkpatrick to officiate among them until the next Spring meeting.

At this meeting (December 1, 1761) President Finley was received from the Presbytery of Newcastle, and he and Mr. Kirkpatrick were deputed to draw up and present an address to Governor

Handy, on his accession to the administration of the Province.

In the spring (April 20, 1762) no better proposals were received from Trenton. The Presbytery confessed great embarrassment as to their course, but finally gave their unanimous advice to Mr. Kirkpatrick to accept the call. He complied with the advice, but no direction was given for installment.

An important measure, however, was taken by the congregation, immediately after this meeting, towards encouraging the permanent settlement of their minister. This was the purchase of a parsonage. The people bought a lot on the north side of Hanover street, which runs in the rear of the church, sixty-five feet front, and about one hundred and sixteen feet in depth, containing twenty-eight perches of land, on which was a dwelling-house. This property was conveyed to the trustees by deed of Stacy Beaks, and his mother Mary Beaks, a widow, May 3, 1762, for the consideration of two hundred and seventy pounds, proclamation money, "to be and remain for a parsonage for the Presbyterian congregation of Trenton forever, and the use, benefit, and profits thereof to be held and enjoyed by the Presby-

terian minister of Trenton, that shall be regularly called by the Presbyterian congregation of Trenton, and approved by the Presbytery of New-Brunswick."

May, 1763, brought another trial of the strength of Kirkpatrick's attachment to Trenton. This was in the shape of a petition from the congregation of Huntington, Long Island, that he should be allowed to settle there as the assistant or colleague of the Rev. Mr. Prime, who was disabled by age and infirmities for the pastoral service. The decision on this application was deferred till June, when he was allowed to relieve Mr. Prime for two Sabbaths in July. This was followed in August by an application in person by Dr. Zophar Platt, on behalf of the Huntington congregation. To this oral call the Presbytery objected that it was too informal and indefinite; there was no liberty from the Presbytery of Suffolk, no mention of the capacity in which Kirkpatrick was desired, whether as stated supply, sole pastor, or colleague. Moreover, the Trenton difficulty existed here also; "the Presbytery look upon the proposed medium of support to be insufficient," and therefore could not encourage Mr. Kirkpatrick to make a change. Immediately afterwards, however, upon

a petition from Loudon county, Virginia, for a candidate or supply, Kirkpatrick, among others, was directed to "pay a visit there as soon as possible, and tarry a number of Sabbaths at discretion." The Rev. Messrs. McKnight, Hait, Tennents Senior and Junior, and Guild were appointed to supply his pulpit five Sabbaths.

The Synod of 1763 brought to a final issue a series of investigations into certain erroneous opinions of the Rev. Samuel Harker, and of conferences with him, which had occupied some portion of their attention at every meeting since that of 1758, when the case was first brought to the Synod's notice by the Presbytery of New-Brunswick, of which he was a member. Finding him the more mischievous and obstinate for their forbearance, the Synod pronounced him disqualified from exercising his ministry. This decision coming to the Presbytery, they directed Mr. Kirkpatrick to go as soon as possible to Mr. Harker's congregation, [Blackriver,] "warn them not to receive his doctrines, or receive his ministrations, vindicate the conduct of the Synod, signify the paternal care of the Presbytery over them, and inquire whether they are resolved to abide under our care; that if so, we may order them

supplies." At the next meeting Kirkpatrick reported that he had fulfilled his appointment, and that the congregation were in such a confused and divided state, they were unable to form a determination.

At the October meeting of 1763 the Trenton congregation is again before Presbytery with an application for the installment of their favorite minister, now in the fourth year of his service as their supply. He declined to accede to the proposition; but no clew is given to his reasons beyond the statement, "that he could not in the present situation of affairs." At the same time he gave no intimation of withdrawing from the place, or of a willingness to yield to any of the numerous invitations that had come to him from other quarters. The Court was perplexed. They declared they could advise neither the people nor their called minister to proceed any further towards the installation, but rather inclined to the opinion that by mutual consent both parties should allow "things by a natural and easy channel to return to their former state and situation." What follows in the minute does not help to throw light upon the difficulties of the case. "If this advice be complied with by the said parties,

the Presbytery foresee, that a congregation will become a vacancy of whom they had entertained hopes that they might have been happily and permanently settled, which is to them a very disagreeable prospect. But if this should finally be the event, the Presbytery do recommend it to the people to pay off the arrears to Mr. Kirkpatrick in proportion to what they have hitherto done; and in the present exigence of affairs do advise Mr. Kirkpatrick to supply the congregation of Trenton at discretion, as much as he and they may agree upon till our next Presbytery."

The charter of the congregation, as we have before seen, vested in the Minister, Elders, and Deacons the power of electing trustees. As long as Mr. Cowell lived after the charter was received, he was one of the trustees. There was no election in 1761. In 1762–3 the Trustees were all laymen. But in 1764 Mr. Kirkpatrick was elected Trustee and Clerk of the Board; an evidence that his relation was not considered that of a transient supply. In those times a formal installment was sometimes dispensed with as unessential to the constitution of the pastoral connection. In 1736 the Presbytery ratified a decision of their commission, (for Presbytery as well as Synod sat in those days in interims by

commission,) that the Rev. William Tennent was to be considered "the proper Gospel minister and pastor" of the congregation of Neshaminy, though he had never been regularly installed, on the ground that he had accepted their call; that in the preamble of their subscription for his salary, they had spoken of him as their minister; that the body of them once owned him as such when the question was openly proposed to them in the church, and that he had for ten years carried on all parts of the Gospel ministry without opposition. An appeal from this decision was carried to Synod in the same year, but the Presbytery was sustained; the Synodal decision declaring, that though the omission of a formal installment was not to be justified, it was far from nullifying the pastoral relation.*

The people of Huntington, not discouraged by previous failures, and having repaired the informalities of the year before, renewed their application for Mr. Kirkpatrick at the October session of 1764. At this time his position in Trenton, as inferred from the Records, takes a more definite phase. The congregation appeared by their representatives, and expressed their opinion that Mr.

* "Records," p. 125.

Kirkpatrick should be either installed or dismissed; but "earnestly desired the former." On the other hand, a paper was presented with the signatures of fifteen members of the congregation, charging their minister with using the people ill, especially in his delays about a permanent settlement, and concluding with a disavowal on their part, of any further obligations to him as their pastor, or for his future maintenance.

The Presbytery considered these allegations and pronounced them groundless. They likewise assured the malcontents that the obligations between the congregation and Kirkpatrick remained in force "while he continues their regular minister." They proceeded to say that in the present confusion the way was not clear for the installment, and deferred final action in the premises till their next meeting, which was to be held in a few weeks in Trenton. Meanwhile Mr. Kirkpatrick was at liberty to spend two or three Sabbaths in Huntington.

Accordingly on the 4th December, after ordaining Mr. James Lyon as a minister to Nova Scotia, it was determined, when the parties had been fully heard, first, that the opposition of some of the congregation to the settlement of the

pastor was without just cause; secondly, that there was no satisfactory evidence that he could be duly supported in the execution of his office, if settled; thirdly, that the way is not clear for the installment; fourthly, that Kirkpatrick was under no obligation to settle in the place; fifthly, that as the body of the congregation were in his favor, he might supply them for the present season; sixthly, that he should be paid his salary and arrears; seventhly, that he should have liberty to preach for vacant congregations; and eighthly, if he should wish to leave the bounds of the Presbytery, Dr. Finley was authorized to give him the usual certificate.

From all this, it appears that no advance or change in the position of affairs was accomplished, and Mr. Kirkpatrick retained his place.

In the Synod as well as in the Presbytery, the minister of Trenton was a punctual and active member. He was often clerk, and his name is found in connection with much of the prominent business. In the Synod of 1763, he was on the committees for the education of pious students at Princeton, and for the direction and support of missionaries on the frontiers, and seems to have been generally in request as a practical worker in the

financial and judicial transactions of Church courts. On one occasion he is recorded as having left town without leave; but it was for the two tedious days, in which the roll of Synod was called, that each member might express his opinion on the question, whether a candidate should be required to narrate his religious experience before a judicature, as a ground of deciding upon his reception.*

New-Brunswick and Metuchin, White Clay Creek and Christiana Creek and Walkill, applied to Presbytery in 1765, for the services of Kirkpatrick, with a view to settlement, or as a supply; but without resulting in any change.

In April, 1766, there came once more a formal call from Trenton, and at the same time one from Amwell. The former of these is spoken of in the course of the proceedings, as his "re-settlement," probably meaning a renewed effort for his settlement, as his work as pastor, in every thing but the name, had been continued without suspension. Both congregations made their pleas before the Presbytery. It would seem from the Minutes, that, after both the minister

* "Records," p. 317–8.

and people of Trenton, had signified their assent that the Amwell call should be prosecuted, both were disposed to retract, when the time of separation approached; for this is the deliverance:

"That there was some degree of imprudence on the part of Mr. Kirkpatrick, or the people of Trenton, or both, in proceeding so far in their call, without the advice of Presbytery, and *that*, after they had jointly and severally given encouragement to the people of Amwell to invite him among them.

"As the above congregations are places of importance, and equally dear to the Presbytery, and said congregations, together with Mr. Kirkpatrick, have submitted the final determination of the affair to the Presbytery, they do therefore judge, upon the whole, that it is most expedient for Mr. Kirkpatrick to accept the call from Amwell."

But neither was this the close of this protracted business. Mr. Kirkpatrick's dilemma was not relieved by the decision he had invoked. The matter went on undecided for another month, when a new influence interposed. The Synod met in May, in New-York. In the course of their meetings, the Presbytery held a session. At this, two members of the Presbytery of Philadelphia—the Rev. Andrew Hunter, and William Ramsey—were present, and in their capa-

city as correspondents, urged the re-consideration of the vote in April. They apprehended the most serious consequences to the interests of religion in Trenton, if Kirkpatrick should be removed. They pleaded, that from the happy union of "all societies" in the last call, and the extraordinary exertions that had been made in view of its acceptance, a happy prospect opened of "an important congregation being gathered there," if he was settled among them. "But if not, that the hearts of the people would be so sunk and discouraged, that they would be effectually prevented from future applications, especially considering the unhappy prejudices they have contracted against the Presbytery, for the aforesaid judgment." "It was therefore earnestly overtured by these brethren," (and Mr. Kirkpatrick, if not the reporter, was the recorder of their language,) "that the matter should be reviewed, in order to prevent the ruin of that growing society, which, on account of its situation, etc., is really important; and the rather, as the number of ministers present at said determination, was but small."

The subject being thus opened afresh, the Presbytery, at six o'clock in the morning of the

following day, resumed the discussion, and consented to adjourn to the next month at Trenton, and there re-consider their decision. The congregations of Amwell and Trenton were to be notified of the opportunity of being heard.

On the 24th June, the parties were again present; and the judicatory, perhaps tired of the subject, turned the whole responsibility upon the candidate, by putting both calls into his hands, and requiring him to make his own choice. Thus constrained, Kirkpatrick decided for Amwell, and the Presbytery immediately appointed the second Wednesday of the following August for his installment there, which was accomplished.

Kirkpatrick had but a short career left. In 1767 he was elected a Trustee of the College of New-Jersey. He was among the supplies for Trenton for that year. He was Stated Clerk of Presbytery, and Clerk of Synod, a member of the Commission of Synod, one of the Synod's deputation to meet the Consociated Churches of Connecticut at New-Haven in September, for a plan of union, in view of the prospect of the establishment of Diocesan Episcopacy in America by the Church of England.* In 1768 he supplied five Sabbaths in

* The Convention had annual sessions alternately in New-Jersey and Connecticut, until 1776. See Minutes by Dr. Field.

Trenton; is again on the Synod's commission; a delegate to the General Convention or Union meeting with the Connecticut Consociation at Elizabethtown; in May a correspondent for the Presbytery with the Rev. Job Prudden in Connecticut; and in October for the Synod with ministers of Dublin, according to a system of intercourse with foreign churches. In 1769 he was Moderator of the Synod in Philadelphia, and a member of the Presbytery's committee to draft a memorial to obtain funds for the College at Princeton. This memorial is recorded on the minutes. Among its statements is this: "It is with pleasure they observe some very eminent departments of a civil nature already filled with the sons of this College, and that in the year 1767 not fewer than eighty of them were ministers dispersed through the several colonies; since which time there has been a considerable addition." In the archives of the Assembly is a copy of this memorial in a printed folio-sheet, signed by Mr. Kirkpatrick as Moderator. There is also preserved in the same collection, and in the same form, with his signature as clerk, the Synod's circular of 1767, recommending congregations to provide glebes for their pastors—a greater care for widows, orphans, and the poor

—the avoidance of law-suits—the appointment of masters to teach the catechism and psalmody —the disuse of spirituous liquors at funerals—and the establishment in each congregation of a society for the reformation of morals.

In 1769 Kirkpatrick was both Treasurer and Clerk of Presbytery. On the 15th of June of that year his familiar name appears for the last time among its living members. He died in Amwell on the eighth of September, not yet forty-three years of age. His body was buried in front of the pulpit of the First Church of Amwell or "Old House" between the villages of Ringoes and Reaville. The church has been since taken down, and a new one built at Reaville, but the tomb remains in its first position, and is thus inscribed.

"Here lieth the body of the
REV. WILLIAM KIRKPATRICK,
Late Pastor of this church,
Who died in the 43d year of his age.
Reader, wouldst thou know his character for thy good?
Think what a Man, a Christian, a Minister of the Gospel,
a Friend, a Husband, a Father, a Master should be;
For in imitating this pattern (if justly drawn) thou shalt
imitate him, and with him shalt with distinguished
honor attain to the resurrection of the just."

"Near him" (says a correspondent of *The Presbyterian*) lie the "remains of a daughter who survived him, and whose name is found on the records of Amwell First Church as a member in full communion. We give the inscription on her tombstone.

"In memory of
HANNAH, daughter of the late Rev. William Kirkpatrick,
Pastor of this church,
Who died August 7th, 1786, in the nineteenth
year of her age.

The dust beneath
Proclaims this solemn truth:
The young are fading,
Frail's the bloom of youth;
Life's a short dream,
A false and empty show,
And all is
Fleeting vanity below.
O reader! speak,
Can you believe too soon,
The fairest morn of life
Will not insure the noon."

"Mrs. Margaret Kirkpatrick, his widow, was afterwards married to the Rev. John Warford, who having been called by the Amwell people April 3, 1776, was ordained and installed their pastor. The man of God, who is the subject of this sketch, fulfilled his course in about eleven years; but short as that course was, it left an abiding impression in the region where he closed his labors. Testimony to this effect has been frequently given to the writer by a highly intelligent parishioner, who was born in

1760, and lived to enter his ninety-first year. There is now living [1857] a venerable mother in Israel, aged ninety-seven, who, though only eight or nine years old at the time, has a distinct recollection of Mr. Kirkpatrick's personal appearance. She describes him as being above the ordinary size, but not corpulent; grave, dignified, and commanding in his aspect, and of most engaging address. But by no survivor was he more loved and revered than by a slave, whom he owned to the time of his death, New-Jersey being then a slaveholding State. This slave lived to be about one hundred years of age. To old Cato his master was the model of a man and a Christian minister, and but for his greater love to the Lord Jesus Christ, his profound veneration and deep-rooted affection might have been looked upon as idolatry."*

I am sorry to find, not only in the Records of our Trustees, but of the Presbytery, that there was both before and after Mr. Kirkpatrick's death, some irregularity and delay in the discharge of his salary. Insufficiency of stipend and unpunctuality in receiving it, have long been among the trials of pastors, especially of those

* The name of the Rev. Jacob Kirkpatrick, D.D., is so much identified with the churches of Amwell, where he is now [1858] actively passing the forty-eighth year of his pastorate, that it will meet a natural inquiry to state, that Dr. Kirkpatrick does not know that he has any family connection with his predecessor and namesake.

settled in rural districts where the people, accustomed to maintain their own families from their farms, or by barter, have an inadequate idea of the necessity of money to those who have nothing else to live upon. In the times of which I am writing, these evils frequently engaged the attention of the Presbytery, and for a while reports of such delinquencies were statedly called for and acted upon. In regard to Mr. Kirkpatrick's case, inasmuch as the subject stands upon the Records, it ought to be said that according to the church-books, it appears that there was a difficulty in determining the claims for arrears due on the last six months' salary, and that the committee of the Trustees, appointed for the purpose, could not get access to the accounts of Mr. Kirkpatrick, so as to ascertain what amount, or whether in fact any remained unpaid. The subject was dismissed from Presbytery with the conclusion, "that all has been done that can conveniently be done relating to the Trenton arrears." One source of the difficulty probably was, that the salary was collected by a committee in each church, who may have handed their collections to the minister without

the agency of the treasurer. Thus in March, 1765 is a minute in the Trustees' book:

"Appointed to collect the six months' salary for Mr. Kirkpatrick:

"In town: John Ely, Hezekiah Howell.

"In the country: Isaac Green, Richard Palmer."

Chapter Tenth.

Trustees — Trenton and Maidenhead.

1764—1769.

From Mr. Cowell's death, until Mr. Kirkpatrick's removal, the Trenton Board of Trustees remained unchanged, at the annual elections, except that in 1762 the name of Obadiah Howell appears in the place of Mr. Cowell's; in 1764, the names of Mr. Kirkpatrick, James Cumines, and Abraham Hunt, come in the places of Arthur Howell, Joseph Yard, and Moore Furman; in 1766, the names of Joseph Reed, Jr., Samuel Tucker, and Daniel Clark, succeed those of Mr. Kirkpatrick, William Green, and James Cumines. In 1764, John Chambers, John Hendrickson, and Joseph Green, were elected Elders; in 1765, Benjamin Yard, Hezekiah Howell, and William Tucker were elected, apparently to succeed them.

James Cumines, or Cumine, or Cumins, died February 21, 1770, aged sixty-six. He bequeathed ten pounds to the Trustees, to be in-

vested for the support of the pastor. This was not payable until the death of his wife, at which time the rest of his property was to be divided among James, William, Samuel, and Joseph, sons of William Cumines, of Nottingham, Chester county, Pennsylvania. A Mrs. Jean Cumins signed the call of Mr. Spencer, in 1769.

Abraham Hunt was, for many years, the most prominent and opulent merchant of the town. He was in the Board from 1764 till his death, at the age of eighty-one, October 27, 1821, a space of fifty-seven years. He was regular in his attendance at the meetings, down to 1818. In that year he made his will, bequeathing one hundred dollars to this church, and the same amount to the Episcopal. Mr. Hunt was Postmaster of Trenton, both before and after the Revolution. His grandson, Mr. Wesley Hunt, has in his possession one of his commissions, dated January 10, 1764, by which "Benjamin Franklin and John Foxcroft, Postmasters-General of all his Majesty's Provinces and Dominions in the continent of North-America," appoint Abraham Hunt, Deputy Postmaster in Trenton, for three years; and another, dated October 13, 1775, also for three years, from "Benjamin Franklin,

Postmaster-General of all the United Colonies on the continent of North-America."

The tradition is now on record, that Colonel Rahl was spending a late evening at Mr. Hunt's house, in Christmas festivities, the day before the battle of Trenton, in which he fell, and that his hilarity caused him to leave unopened a note that warned him of the approach of Washington's army.* Mr. Hunt was the father of Pearson, Wilson, John W., and Theodore Hunt. Of his first wife, Theodosia, who died March 4, 1784, at the age of thirty-nine, her tomb-stone declares: "Such was the cheerful, uninterrupted benevolence of her heart, such was the gentleness and purity of her manners, that she never made an enemy, nor ever lost a friend. To know her once, was to love her forever." His second wife was Mary Dagworthy, who died April 4, 1814, in her sixty-sixth year.

Joseph Reed, Jr., is well known in American history, in connection with the public positions enumerated in the title of the two volumes of his "Life and Correspondence," as "Military Secretary of Washington at Cambridge, Adjutant-

* Lossing's Field-Book of the Revolution.

General of the Continental Army, Member of the Congress of the United States, and President of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania."* He was also (1777) elected Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania, but declined the office. Mr. Reed was born at Trenton, August 27, 1741. Of his father, Andrew Reed, who was one of the original Corporators and Trustees, I have already made mention. Joseph Reed graduated at Princeton, in 1757; studied law with Richard Stockton, and was admitted to the bar in 1763. He then went to London, and prosecuted his professional studies in the Middle Temple, until 1765, when he returned and commenced practice in Trenton. According to a letter of 1766, his family in Trenton, at that time, consisted of himself, his father, sister, two brothers, his half-sister, (Mrs. Charles Pettit,) and her three children. In the same year he writes: "There are sixteen courts which I am obliged to attend from home, oftentimes near a whole week at each, besides attending the assizes once a year through the whole province,

* Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, by his grandson William B. Reed, 2 vols., 1847. Memoir of the same, by Professor Henry Reed, in Sparks' American Biography, vol. viii. The Life of Esther de Berdt, [Mrs. Joseph Reed,] by W. B. Reed; privately printed.

which contains thirteen counties." His dwelling, according to an advertisement of the property, in 1779, was near the market-house, having nearly two acres of ground attached to it, extending two hundred feet on Market street, and commanding a beautiful view of the Delaware, including the Falls.

In 1770, Mr. Reed re-visited London, and was married to a daughter of Denys de Berdt, after which he took up his residence in Philadelphia, and his public life thenceforward was identified with his adopted State.

Mr. Reed was a Trustee of the congregation from 1766 to 1769. On his removal to Philadelphia, he attended the Pine Street (third Presbyterian) Church. His biographer says: He "was firmly attached to the Presbyterian Church, in which he had been educated." In one of his publications, he said of it: "When I am convinced of its errors, or ashamed of its character, I may perhaps change it; till then I shall not blush at a connection with a people, who, in this great controversy, are not second to any in vigorous exertions and general contributions, and to whom we are so eminently indebted for our deliverance from the thraldom of Great Britain."

In the *Pennsylvania Packet* of April 22, 1779, is an address, presented to President Reed, from the officers of the Scots' Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, applauding his administration. The Pine Street congregation, for whom Mr. Reed had acted as counsel, in settling a difference about property with the Market Street, or First Church, presented him with a pew. It was to the pastor of Pine Street, that the direction of Mr. Reed's will referred in saying: "If I am of consequence enough for a funeral sermon, I desire it may be preached by my old friend and instructor, Mr. Duffield, in Arch street, the next Sunday after my funeral."

When John Adams was attending Congress in Philadelphia, he often attended the Arch and Pine Street churches with Mr. Reed. Thus in his Diary of 1774: "September 10, [which was Saturday, and preparatory to the communion.] Rambled in the evening with Jo. Reed, and fell into Mr. Sproat's meeting, [Arch street,] where we heard Mr. Spence preach. September 11. Mr. Reed was so kind as to wait on us to Mr. Sproat's meeting." "October 24, 1775. Heard Mr. Smith, of Pequea. This was at Duffield's meeting." Mr. Adams pronounced Sproat to be "to-

tally destitute of the genius and eloquence of Duffield."*

Colonel Reed was with General Cadwalader's division when Washington crossed the Delaware, in 1777. In 1782, he was one of the professional representatives of Pennsylvania, before the Commissioners of Congress, who met at Trenton to decide the dispute between that State and Connecticut, in regard to the Wyoming lands. In one of his letters he writes of having received a letter "under cover of Mr. Spencer," then the pastor at Trenton. He was a Trustee of the College of New-Jersey, from 1781 until his death. In 1783, visiting England for his health, he was associated with Dr. Witherspoon, who went out in the same vessel, on a mission to obtain subscriptions for the College abroad. He died in Philadelphia, March 5, 1785.

Samuel Tucker served in the Trusteeship from 1766 to 1788, and for most of the time was Clerk of the Board. He held many public stations. He had been Sheriff of Hunterdon, and when as a member of the Provincial Assembly of 1769, he took an active part in the investiga-

* Life and Works of John Adams, vol. ii. In 1777, Mr. Adams boarded with the family of Mr. Sproat.

tion of alleged professional abuses of lawyers, there was a recrimination in regard to his own fee-bills as Sheriff.* He was President of the Provincial Congress of New-Jersey, which sat in Trenton from October 4 to 28, 1775, and officially signed the Constitution which it framed, July 2, 1776. On the 4th September of that great year, he was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court. He was also for a time Treasurer of the new State, and in that relation there will be occasion to introduce his name hereafter. In 1776 he was Chairman of the Provincial Committee of Safety, but in the subsequent panic he took advantage of the offer of British protection.† Perhaps some of this weakness was attributable to the family connection of Mr. Tucker—his wife being an English lady. It is said, that Mr. Tucker and John Hart (afterwards a signer of the Declaration) were competitors for the Assembly, in 1768; Tucker was supported by the Episcopalians, Methodists, and Baptists, Hart by the Presbyterians. "During the first and second days of election, Hart was

* Field's Provincial Courts of New-Jersey, p. 169.

† Journal of Assembly of New-Jersey, Dec. 17, 1777. Sedgwick's Life of Governor Livingston, p. 194.

ahead, but on the third, one Judge Brae, coming up with a strong reserve of Church of England men, secured Tucker's return."*

Mr. Tucker died in 1789. By his will he left fifty pounds to "the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Trenton and Lamberton," as it is named in the will, to distinguish the town from the country church; the interest was to be paid annually "to the minister, to attend divine service in the Presbyterian Church in Trenton, towards his support." He left thirty pounds to the Episcopal Church. His will made judicious provision for the emancipation of his slaves, either immediate or at a conditional time; as, upon learning a trade, adding a legacy of money to that of liberty.

Mrs. Tucker's maiden name was Gould.† In 1766 she inherited from Elizabeth Gould, of Exeter, Devonshire, (perhaps her mother,) some property, which, by her own will, in 1787, she bequeathed to her nieces, White and Murgatroyd.

* Sedgwick's Livingston, p. 143.

† There was a "Captain Gould" in Trenton, in 1725, with whom Thomas Chalkley, the Quaker minister, lodged—"who treated me very politely." A brook, running through the meadows, near the old cemetery where the Tuckers were buried, is called Gould's or Gold's run.

Mr. and Mrs. Tucker were buried in the old grave-yard described already as lying inclosed but desolate, in the midst of cultivated fields. The two large stones that cover their graves, are the only ones in the little inclosure that remain unmutilated. The inscriptions are as follows:

1. "Underneath this stone lie the remains of SAMUEL TUCKER, Esq., who departed this life, the 14th day of January, 1789, aged 67 years, 3 months, and 19 days.

"Though in the dust I lay my head,
Yet, gracious God, thou wilt not leave
My soul forever with the dead,
Nor lose thy children in the grave."

2. "In memory of ELIZABETH TUCKER, the wife of Samuel Tucker, Esq., of Trenton, and daughter of James and Ann Gould, who departed this life on Sunday, the 13th day of May, 1787, aged 57 years, 8 months, and 14 days.

"This life's a dream, an empty show,
But the bright world to which I go
Hath joys substantial and sincere;
When shall I wake and find me there?
Then burst the chains with sweet surprise,
And in my Saviour's image rise."

At the meeting of Presbytery, in the fall of the year in which Mr. Kirkpatrick left Trenton, the congregation applied for supplies, "and in particular for the Rev. Mr. McKnight, in case of

his dismission from his present charge, which they inform us, they have heard is probable." This was the Rev. Charles McKnight, who was the pastor of Allentown, but who at the same meeting was, at his request, dismissed from that charge. At that time also, a call for him was presented from Shrewsbury, Shark River, and Middletown Point, which he subsequently accepted.

The people next turned their attention to Mr. Jonathan Edwards, son of the eminent President of Princeton College, and himself afterwards distinguished as President of Union College, at Schenectady. Mr. Edwards graduated at Princeton, after his father's death, and in 1767 was employed there as Tutor. He had been licensed by the Litchfield Congregational Association, in 1766; but in April, 1767, he applied to be taken under the care of the Presbytery of New-Brunswick, which was done, and among the vacancies assigned to him was Trenton, which he was directed to supply for three Sabbaths. On the 20th October, 1767, a call was brought for him from the congregation. As Mr. Edwards was not present, the matter was deferred, but "in the mean time the Presbytery can not help expressing their pleasure to see such a harmony among

said people in the call aforesaid, and that they have exerted themselves so far for the support of the Gospel; and we assure said people, we will concur with them in their prosecution of said call; and we appoint Mr. Edwards, to supply at Trenton as much as he can do, till our spring Presbytery."

The exertion, for which the people are commended, refers to a subscription for the support of the pastor elect, which accompanied the call, and the lack of which—added perhaps to the want of the same unanimity in the people—had been the main cause of preventing the installment of their late minister. The application, however, was ineffectual, and on the 19th April, 1768, the entry is:

"Mr. Edwards, having been chosen a Professor of Languages, etc., in the College of New-Jersey, and being now employed as a Tutor there, could not see it to be his duty to break his connections with the College aforesaid; and therefore, as he would not accept the call from Trenton, it was returned."*

* Mr. Edwards, on the 20th April, 1768, was appointed to supply at Allentown and New-Brunswick at discretion; and this is the last time his name appears in the records of the Presbytery. He did not accept the Professorship, and on January 5, 1769, was ordained over the Congregational Church of White Haven, Conn. It may be doubted whether

The College was often looked to for ministers. Just before calling Mr. Edwards, Trenton was one of three vacant congregations that applied for Mr. James Thompson, a recent licentiate, to supply them statedly; "but Mr. Thompson's connections with the College of New-Jersey as a Tutor, so embarrass him, that it appears inexpedient to the Presbytery to lay him under any positive appointment; but only recommend it to him to supply as much as he can at these places, at discretion." (Minute of June 23, 1767.)

In the year 1769, the two congregations of Trenton united with the Maidenhead congregation in an arrangement, by which one pastor could serve the three societies. There must have been some strong necessity, financial or otherwise, for a measure that would reduce the share of each congregation from one half of a minister's

his coming under the care of the Presbytery meant more than asking to be employed by them during his continuance in the College; but the Minute of April, 1767, is, "Being desirous to be taken under the care of this Presbytery, we do gladly receive him according to his desire." In 1807, there was a case of this kind: "Mr. Enoch Burt, a licentiate of the Southern New-Hampshire Association, appeared in Presbytery, and being asked whether he was willing to accept of appointments to preach in our vacant churches the ensuing summer, answered in the affirmative. The Committee of Supplies was directed to take notice of the same."

care to one third. The first evidence of the union is in a minute of October 18:

"A petition was brought into the Presbytery, from the congregations of Trenton and Maidenhead, signed by the respective elders, requesting them to invite the Reverend Mr. Spencer, a member of the Presbytery of Newcastle, to settle among them: which the Presbytery unanimously complied with."

Chapter Eleventh.

The Reverend Elihu Spencer, D.D.—His Previous History.

1721—1769.

Elihu Spencer, thus introduced into our history, was a son of Isaac and Mary (Selden) Spencer, and was born in East-Haddam, Connecticut, February 12, 1721. He entered Yale College in 1742, and commenced Bachelor of Arts in 1746, in the class with President Stiles and John Brainerd. The families of Spencer and Brainerd were doubly connected, for Hannah Spencer, a sister of Dr. Spencer's grandfather, was the grandmother of David and John Brainerd; and their sister, Martha Brainerd, was the wife of General Joseph Spencer, brother of Elihu. In the Life of David Brainerd, President Edwards relates that when David was on his deathbed, his youngest brother, Israel, came to see him; "but this meeting," he says, "was attended with sorrow, as his brother brought him the

sorrowful tidings of his sister Spencer's death at Haddam. A peculiarly tender affection and much religious intimacy had long subsisted between Mr. Brainerd and his sister, and he used to make her house his home, whenever he went to Haddam, his native place."

Mr. Spencer had entered college with the design of preparation for the ministry, and soon after his licensure he was chosen by the American Correspondents, or Commissioners, of the Scottish Society for propagating the Gospel in New-England and parts adjacent, as a suitable missionary to the Indian tribes. At this time David Brainerd was the most prominent evangelist among the Indians, and it was partly owing to his favorable opinion that young Spencer was engaged for the same work. Under date of September, 1747, in the Life of Brainerd, it is said that, "Brainerd having now, with much deliberation, considered the subject referred to him by the Commissioners, wrote them about this time, recommending two young gentlemen of his acquaintance, Mr. Elihu Spencer, of East-Haddam, and Mr. Job Strong, of Northampton, as suitable missionaries to the Six Nations. The Commissioners on the receipt of this letter, cheer-

fully and unanimously agreed to accept of and employ the persons whom he had recommended."

But upon David's death, in 1747, his brother John became the principal agent of the Society, and it was with him that Mr. Spencer and Mr. Job Strong spent a winter (1748) in studying Indian languages, and otherwise availing themselves of the Brainerd experience. Jonathan Edwards was himself an active friend of the Indians, and after his removal from Northampton, in 1750, accepted, at the same time, a call to the church at Stockbridge, and an appointment of the Boston Commissioners as missionary to the Indians living in that part of Massachusetts Bay. Spencer passed a summer with Edwards, and accompanied him to Albany to witness a treaty with the aborigines, many of whom spent their winters about Stockbridge, and the rest of the year near Schoharie, beyond Albany. What it was to travel from Stockbridge to Albany a century ago, may be learned from the Rev. Gideon Hawley's narrative of such a journey in 1753.* Mr. Hawley was a teacher and minister of the Indians, under Edwards' instructions, and

* In Massachusetts Historical Collections, and in the Documentary History of New-York, (vol. iii, p. 1033.)

says of the great metaphysician: "To Indians he was a very plain and practical preacher; upon no occasion did he display any metaphysical knowledge in the pulpit."

Thus prepared, Spencer was ordained in Boston, September 14, 1748, and went to the Oneida tribe—the chief of the Six Nations of the Mohawks, or Iroquois. His station was at Onoquaqua, (afterwards Unadilla,) at the head of the Susquehannah, one hundred and seventy miles south-west of Albany, and one hundred and thirty beyond any white settlement. One of the results of his mission was a vocabulary of the Oneida language, which he prepared. Hawley says he "could not surmount the obstacles he met with." These obstacles are indefinitely described elsewhere, as difficulties connected with his interpreter, and other causes frustrating his usefulness. He soon withdrew from the mission, and going to Elizabethtown he received a call from the Presbyterian Church left vacant by the death of President Dickinson. Having accepted the call he was received by the Presbytery of New-York, and installed February 7, 1749. Recording that date in his family Bible, he writes: "This day was installed E. Spencer, and took

the great charge (onus humeris angelorum formidandum) of the ministry in Elizabethtown; ætatis suæ 28. The Lord help me." Mr. Spencer gave part of his time to Shrewsbury. In 1848 two men were living in that town, one in his ninety-seventh, the other in his eighty-ninth year, who remembered Mr. Spencer, and showed the house he occupied on his visits.* He took his place in Synod, September, 1750, at their meeting at Newark, and was placed on a committee of five for drafting proposals for a reünion with the Synod of Philadelphia. He was often on the commission for the interim. In 1753 he was on a committee to settle difficulties in what was then our only church in the city of New-York; the subject of discord being the introduction of Watts's Psalms, the use of anthems, and prayer at burials.† In 1753, Spencer was appointed to take his part in supplying Mr. Tennent's pulpit in Philadelphia, during his absence in Europe for the College, the

* Letter of the Rev. Rufus Taylor, of Shrewsbury, to the Rev. Dr. Miller. In October, 1750, Mr. Spencer was married to a daughter of John Eaton, of Eatontown, in the neighborhood of Shrewsbury.

† See "Alexander Cumming," in Dr. Sprague's Annals, vol. i. 462. "Records," Sept. 26, 1754.

Synod directing at the same time that, "Mr. Spencer's congregation be supplied in his absence the whole of the time, at the request of his excellency, the Governor," (Belcher.)

When Mr. Davies was preparing for his voyage with Tennent, in September, 1753, he saw much of Spencer. After passing a night at his house in Elizabethtown, and proceeding the next day to Newark, Davies writes in his journal: "The Governor insisted that I should preach for Mr. Spencer next Sunday come se'nnight, that he might have an opportunity of hearing me." On the following Saturday he "sailed to Elizabethtown: was pleased with the company of my brother Mr. Spencer, and Mr. James Brown." The next day Davies preached; and on Tuesday returned to Philadelphia to meet the Synod, in company with Messrs. Spencer, Brainerd, and Brown, "and spent the time in pleasing conversation, principally on the affairs of the Indians."

At the Synod of October, 1755, various petitions having been presented from North-Carolina, "setting forth their distressing circumstances for want of a preached Gospel among them," the Synod resolved to extend what relief was in their power, and appointed Mr. Spencer with Mr.

John Brainerd to take a journey thither before winter, and supply the vacant congregations for six months, or as long as they should think necessary. This is a specimen of the manner in which Synods then exercised their authority over settled ministers, and of the manner in which congregations yielded to the necessity which called for the missionary services of their pastors. No objection from any of these quarters prevented a compliance with the Synod's direction; the entry of September, 1756, being that "the difficulties and dangers of the times rendered it in a great degree impracticable for Messrs. Spencer and Brainerd to answer the end of their appointment to the southward, and for that reason said appointments were not fulfilled." The difficulties were those which arose from the French and Indian incursions. At the same session "the Synod agree that an address be prepared and presented to Lord Loudoun, Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's forces in North-America, and they do appoint Messrs. Aaron Burr, Elihu Spencer, David Bostwick, and Caleb Smith, or some one of them, to prepare and present it, in the name of this Synod, on the first proper opportunity."

In 1756 Mr. Spencer was released from Elizabethtown, having accepted an invitation from the church at Jamaica, Long Island, in the Presbytery of Suffolk, vacant by the removal of Mr. Bostwick to New-York. After a ministry of about two years there, as stated supply, he embraced an offer from Governor Delancey, of New-York, of a chaplaincy to the troops of the Province then detailing for the French war. The Synod made provision for the Jamaica pulpit, "in case Mr. Spencer shall go out as chaplain with the New-York forces." I do not know the nature or duration of his services in this connection, but "Jamaica, July 2, 1759," is the date of a published letter of his to Dr. (afterwards President) Ezra Stiles, on "the state of the dissenting interest in the Middle Colonies of America;" and "Shrewsbury, November 3," of the same year, is the date of a postscript added to it. In May, 1761, he was received by the Presbytery of New-Brunswick from the Suffolk Presbytery, and was clerk at another meeting in the same month in Princeton, and in August in Trenton. In October he was appointed to supply three Sabbaths at Amboy Southward, Middletown Point, and neighboring places; in April,

1762, the same places, "as much as he can;" in October, 1762, and May, 1763, one fourth of his time at South-Amboy; and in April, 1764, four Sabbaths along the sea-shore towards Egg Harbor.

The day on which the Synod of New-York provided for Mr. Spencer's absence with the army, (May 27, 1758,) was the last but one of the separation or schism. The two bodies assembled in Philadelphia, May 29, and constituted "The Synod of New-York and Philadelphia." The number of our ministers in all the Colonies was then nearly one hundred. Mr. Spencer first appeared in the new organization in May of the next year, when he was again put on the Synodal Commission. In the session of 1761 he was Moderator, and was added by the house to a committee appointed to devise means for obtaining funds to support John Brainerd in his Indian mission. As has been already stated in the notice of his predecessor, it was Mr. Kirkpatrick who reported an overture from this committee, upon which it was determined to raise one hundred and fifty pounds for the maintenance of Mr. Brainerd another year. Mr. Spencer opened the sessions of 1762, in the First Church, Philadel-

phia, with a sermon from Acts 20 : 28. The matter of the Rev. Mr. Harker's heretical opinions, the issue of which has been mentioned in the course of our notice of Mr. Kirkpatrick, came before this meeting, in consequence of Harker's having, "without the approbation of the Synod, printed a book containing his principles," and Mr. Spencer was first on a committee to examine and report on the publication, which was next year condemned.

We have seen that Dr. Macwhorter was associated with Mr. Kirkpatrick in college; that they were candidates and licentiates together, and with Mr. Latta were commissioned to itinerate in Virginia and North-Carolina. The same excellent man was also connected with Mr. Spencer on another important mission. The Synod meeting in Elizabethtown in May, 1764, learning that many congregations in the South, particularly in North-Carolina, needed a proper organization, deputed Messrs. Spencer and Macwhorter to visit that region, as general overseers and counsellors for the welfare of the Church. They were to form and regulate congregations, adjust their bounds, ordain elders, administer the sacraments, instruct the people in discipline,

direct them how to obtain the stated ministry, and do all things which their inchoate or feeble condition required; not failing to assure the people every where of the Synod's interest in them, as the highest judicatory of the Church, and its readiness to do all in its power for their assistance. Under the date of May 16, 1765, we have the Synod's record as follows: "Messrs. Spencer and Macwhorter fulfilled their mission to the southward. Mr. Macwhorter's pulpit was supplied during his absence, and the Presbytery of Brunswick were satisfied with the care taken to supply Mr. Spencer's people." Mr. Macwhorter contracted a disease during this journey, from which he did not fully recover for two years. A journal of this apostolic tour would be of great interest and value. The influence of two ministers of such piety, prudence, and talents must have been as happy as it was welcome. The effects of their visit are partly developed in the proceedings of their Presbyteries and Synod after their return. In Synod a committee, at the head of which were Doctors Alison and Finley, were appointed to converse with the two missionaries, not only with reference to their expenses, which Synod had assumed, but "for the

settlement of Gospel ministers in Carolina." At a meeting held by the Presbytery during the same session of Synod at which they made their report a call was presented for Mr. Spencer from the people of Hawfields, Eno, and Little Run, in North-Carolina; but "upon the whole he declared he could not see his way clear to accept of it, and returned it to the commissioner." Immediately another call was presented from Cather's (afterwards Thyatira) and Fourth-Creek settlements, in North-Carolina, for Mr. Spencer, and to this he returned the same unfavorable answer.* It appears that the same calls were introduced into *Synod* by the committee for overtures, who also reported a supplication for supplies from the inhabitants between the Yadkin and Catawba rivers; "particularly for the removal of Mr. Spencer and Mr. Mac-

* The Church at Hawfields became distinguished in the religious history of North-Carolina, in the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, by the efficient ministries of its successive pastors, James McGready and William D. Paisley. The latter died in Greensborough, March, 1857, in his 87th year. "The first camp-meeting held in the South was held at Hawfields, in October, 1802, and grew out of the necessity of the case." "Fourth-Creek Church was organized by Mr. Elihu Spencer, and embraced the inhabitants between the South-Yadkin and the Catawba rivers." Foote's North-Carolina, chap. xvi. xxiv., where will also be found a history of the churches of the Haw and Eno.

whorter to settle among them;" two other supplications for supplies from Bethel and Poplar Tent, in Mecklenburg county; the same from New-Providence and Six-mile Spring; a call for Macwhorter from Hopewell and Centre congregations; and supplications from Long-lanes, in South-Carolina. The Synod proceeded to meet, as far as was in their power, the numerous opportunities opened through their judicious measures, by appointing six ministers to visit North-Carolina, and each of them to tarry half a year in the most destitute neighborhoods.

Next year Sugar Creek, Fishing Creek, Bethel, the Jersey Settlement, Centre congregation, Poplar Tent, and Rocky River united in a petition "for one or more of the Rev. Messrs. Spencer, Lewis, Macwhorter, and James Caldwell to be sent there, promising that the sum of eighty pounds be paid by any of these congregations in which he shall choose to spend half of his time, and another eighty pounds by the vacant congregations he shall supply." The record proceeds: "This petition being read, the several gentlemen mentioned in it were interrogated whether they would comply with this request, to which each of them returned a negative answer."

Petitions for supplies were poured in at the same meeting from various sections of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, but all the Synod could do was to nominate seven ministers to make journeys throughout those districts, as their other engagements would permit.

In his notes on this mission of the Synod, Mr. Foote, after mentioning that the report of the two deputies has not been preserved, remarks:

"We are not left at a loss for the names of part of the congregations whose bounds they adjusted, as in that (1765) and the succeeding year, calls were sent in for pastors from Steele Creek,* Providence, Hopewell, Centre, Rocky River, and Poplar Tent, which entirely surrounded Sugar Creek, besides those in Rowan and Iredell. These seven congregations were in Mecklenburg, except a part of Centre which lay in Rowan, (now Iredell,) and in their extensive bounds comprehended almost the entire county." "This mission was fulfilled to such entire satisfaction, that these gentlemen were importuned to settle in Carolina; and Mr. Macwhorter was ultimately chosen President of the College erected at Charlotte. From the term of this visit we may consider the bounds of the old churches in Orange and Concord Presbyteries as settled,

* "It is probable that the church on Steele Creek was organized by Messrs. Spencer and Macwhorter." Foote, chap. xxviii. The same is said of Poplar Tent. Chap. xxx. It was called *Tent* from the temporary shelter used before a church was built. *Ib.*

and the sessions as generally duly organized. Previous to this, the settlements acted independently in their religious matters."*

In January, 1765, the Rev. John Rodgers, the pastor at the town of St. George's, Delaware, accepted a call from the first church in the city of New-York. Both Mr. Rodgers and the congregation appear to have considered Mr. Spencer as a desirable successor; for in Synod on the 20th of May, 1765, "at the request of the Rev. Mr. Rodgers, and of the congregation of St. George's, Mr. Spencer is appointed to supply that congregation four weeks before Mr. Rodgers removes from them." In the following September, the proper steps having been first taken in the Presbytery of Lancaster, to which St. George's belonged, that congregation and Apoquiminey,† which was connected with it under Mr. Rodgers, presented their call, and upon Mr. Spencer's expressing his acceptance, he was transferred from New-Brunswick to Newcastle—the

* Foote: North-Carolina, ch. xiv. xxiv.

† "Apoquiminey is the corporate name of the Forest Church, now called Middletown. It is not to be confounded with the old church of Apoquiminey from which it broke off in the great revival, and which is now called Drawyers." MS. letter of late Rev. C. Webster, 1848.

bounds of Newcastle and Donegal having been changed for a single year, and the names of Lancaster and Carlisle substituted, but the original ones being now restored. On the seventh January, 1766, Spencer was received by Newcastle, and took his seat, together with Mr. Valentine Dushane as the elder of St. George's. On the seventeenth of the following April he was installed over the united congregations.

Mr. Spencer was one of the witnesses of the serene and happy close of the life of President Finley, which took place in Philadelphia, July 17, 1766. On the day before that event, Mr. Spencer said to him: "I have come to see you confirm by facts the Gospel you have been preaching." In reply to his friend's inquiries, the dying minister said he felt full of triumph: "I triumph through Christ. Nothing clips my wings but the thoughts of my dissolution being prolonged. Oh! that it were to-night! My very soul thirsts for eternal rest." Mr. Spencer asked him what he saw in the future to excite such strong desires. "I see," said he, "the eternal love and goodness of God; I see the fullness of the Mediator. I see the love of Jesus. Oh! to be dissolved, and to be with him! I long to be

clothed with the complete righteousness of Christ." At his request Mr. Spencer prayed: "Pray to God," said he, "to preserve me from evil—to keep me from dishonoring his great name in this critical hour, and to support me with his presence in my passage through the valley of the shadow of death."

The Rev. Mr. Dubois, the present Clerk of the Presbytery of Newcastle, has kindly furnished me with the annexed notes from the books in his charge.

"Between April 16, 1766, and March 22, 1769, there are a number of long minutes, the substance of which is that overtures were made to have the congregations of Drawyers and Pencader united with St. George's and the Forest; that the Presbytery seeing that this would require too much labor for one minister, agreed to it on condition that they would procure an associate pastor, to which they all consented. But either a suitable associate could not be found, or the plan did not work well, and accordingly, at the suggestion of Drawyers and Pencader that 'the said union was not for the edification of the Church,' and 'the people of St. George's and the Forest making no objection against having said union dissolved,' it was dissolved, March 22d, 1769.

"The same day—'A petition, by a representative from the Forest congregation, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Spencer, was made to the Presbytery, requesting that

they would confirm a line lately drawn between them and the congregation of St. George's, and also give the people of the Forest congregation leave, according to terms stipulated in their subscription for the Rev. Mr. Spencer, to try to raise their subscription, in order to obtain more of the labors of their minister; the Presbytery grant the petition, so far that the Forest congregation may try their strength, according to said line, and that both they and St. George's lay their subscriptions before this Presbytery at their next meeting, at which time the Presbytery will more fully judge of, and settle the whole affair.'"

"This is not referred to again, and seems not to have been done, but soon after comes this minute:

"Oct. 19, 1769. 'The Rev. Elihu Spencer informs the Presbytery that the place where he now lives does not agree with his own and his family's constitution, so that his health has been much impaired, and, should he continue there, is likely to be wholly destroyed; therefore he is under the disagreeable necessity of requesting a dissolution of his pastoral relation to the congregations of St. George's and the Forest. A commissioner from St. George's agrees with Mr. Spencer respecting the necessity of his request; upon the whole, the Presbytery judge that they have clearness to dissolve Mr. Spencer's pastoral relation to the aforesaid congregations, and hereby do dissolve it.'

"After this he was not present at any of the meetings, and I can find no mention of him, until at a meeting in Philadelphia, during the sessions of the Synod, he was present, and this minute occurs:

"May 16, 1771. 'Mr. Spencer, having removed out of

the bounds of this Presbytery into the bounds of the Presbytery of New-Brunswick, requests a dismission from us in order to join them, which is granted.' "

In a Philadelphia newspaper of the day, it is mentioned that Mr. Spencer preached at the funeral of the wife of the Rev. Joseph Montgomery, of Kent county, Maryland, March, 1769, in the Presbyterian church, Georgetown.

It was on the eighteenth October, 1769 — the day before his separation from Delaware— that the congregations of Trenton and Maidenhead obtained permission from their Presbytery to call Mr. Spencer; and although he was not dismissed by Newcastle, nor received by New-Brunswick, until the spring of 1771, he was elected a Trustee of the Trenton church and President of the Board, May 7, 1770. His salary was fixed to begin from October 17, 1769, which was probably the time of his taking charge of the congregation.

Until his actual reception in Presbytery he is only "requested" to open a subscription for the college in Trenton, Hopewell, and Cranbury. After that he is "ordered" to do it. From the year 1752, till his death, Mr. Spencer was a Trustee of the College of New-Jersey. He was

on the committee in the first year of his office to negotiate with the people of Princeton in view of establishing the College there. The short distance between Princeton and Trenton, and his relation to the College, often secured, as in the case of his predecessor, Cowell, and successor, Armstrong, exchanges of pulpit services. The record of one such visit is preserved in the blessing it was instrumental in bringing to a student who became an eminent minister. This was James Feuilleteau Wilson, who was a member of the College in 1772, when there was a general awakening on the subject of religion among the students. Wilson for some time decidedly, and even rudely, resisted every effort to draw his attention to his spiritual condition, and was the more averse in consequence of his prejudices as a member of the Church of England. But it was one evening while Mr. Spencer was preaching in the College Hall, that his conscience became deeply, and for a time, hopelessly affected. After gaining relief, he became an humble, zealous Christian. Upon his graduation, in 1773, he went to London, where his father resided, intending to take orders in the English Church, but further reflection and inquiry led

him to return to Princeton, and to the study of theology under Dr. Witherspoon. After the interruption of his course by the war, during part of which time he studied and practised medicine, he was licensed by the Presbytery of Orange, and became pastor of Fourth Creek (the church established by Mr. Spencer) and Concord, in North-Carolina. He died in 1804. Two of his sons were in the ministry.*

* Foote's North-Carolina, chap. xxv.

Chapter Twelfth.

Dr. Spencer's Congregation.

1769—1773.

The town and country congregations of Trenton still preserved their union. The people of Maidenhead had their distinct corporation, but shared the services of the same pastor with Trenton. Each of the Trenton houses had its own spiritual officers. Thus May 6, 1771, Samuel Hill and Ebenezer Cowell were chosen "Elders for the town;" Jacob Carle, John Howell, and Timothy Hendrickson, "for the old house," and Benjamin Smith "a deacon for Trenton." The Trustees acted for both. Thus, at the meeting just mentioned, it was "ordered by the Board that the Treasurer pay eight pounds out of the interest due on the fifty pounds left to the congregation by the Rev. Mr. Cowell, deceased, to the Rev. Mr. Spencer, to make up the Old House subscription for the year 1770, and that the members belonging to Trenton meeting-

house have liberty to apply the like sum out of the interest aforesaid, on the like occasion."

The subjoined document will show the relation in which Mr. Spencer stood to the three congregations. The signatures will serve to record the names of the heads of the families in the town charge as they existed in November, 1769, and a few years afterwards.

"Whereas it is mutually agreed between the townships of Trenton and Maidenhead, to raise one hundred and fifty pounds as the annual salary of the Rev. Mr. Elihu Spencer, during such time as he shall be and remain as their settled minister, and to preach one Sabbath in the town meeting-house, one Sabbath in Maidenhead meeting-house, and every third Sabbath at the old house in the upper part of the township of Trenton, and so to continue one third part of the time at each meeting-house; and, whereas, the congregation belonging to each of the meeting-houses aforesaid, have agreed to raise by way of subscription, the sum of fifty pounds, as their part and share of the annual salary aforesaid, we, the subscribers, being desirous to encourage and support the ministry of the Gospel, and as members of, and belonging to the meeting-house in the town-spot of Trenton, do hereby severally promise and engage to pay unto the Trustees of the Presbyterian congregation of Trenton the sums by us herein respectively subscribed; to be paid half-yearly, in two equal payments during each and every year the said Mr. Spencer shall be and remain their settled minister, and preach alternately

one third part of his time at each house as aforesaid. In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands with the several sums subscribed this eighteenth day of November, Anno Dom., 1769:

Samuel Tucker.
Alexander Chambers,
Benjamin Smith,
John Chambers,
Ebenezer Cowell,
William Tucker,
Benjamin Yard,
Elijah Bond,
William Bryant,
A. [Abigail] Coxe,
Archibald Wm. Yard,
David Pinkerton,
James Paxton,
Abraham Cottnam,
Hezekiah Howell,
Isaac Decow,
Micajah How,
Mrs. [Jean] Cumines,
Dunlap Adams,
Joseph Higbee,
Hannah Merseilles,
Isaac Smith,
Isaac Pearson, (1770,)
Daniel Coxe,
John Wigton,
David Bright,
Samuel Bellerjeau,
Richard Collier,
Richard Tennent,
William Reeder,
Samuel Ellis,
James Wilson,
William Smith,
Robert Booth,
Elizabeth Bell,
George Brown,
Godfrey Wimer,
Lott Dunbar,
Hugh Campbell,
John Reeder,
William Von Veghter,
Samuel Anderson,
Richard Howell,
Benjamin Woolsey,
James Mathis
William Pidgeon,
George Creed, (June, 1770,)
R. L. Hooper, (Sept. 1770,)
Jeremiah Anderson,
Samuel Hill,
Robert Singer, (Sept. 1771,)
Job Moore, (1770,)

John Courtnay, (1771,)
John Chambers, Jr.,
John Ely,
Lewis Case,
Abraham Hunt, (1772,)
Craghead Ryle, (1773,)
Joseph Clunn,
Andrew Wilson,
Hugh Runyon,
John James,
John Clunn,
Henry Drake,
James Ashmoor,
John Fitch,
Mrs. Livesey,
Joseph Brittain,
Samuel Henry,
Andrew Reed,
John Yard,
Stephen Lowrey."

The Trustees at the date of this agreement were Charles Clark, Alexander Chambers, Abraham Hunt, Joseph Reed, Jr., Samuel Tucker, Obadiah Howell, and Daniel Clark.

Of the names thus brought before us, which have not already been the subject of notice, I proceed to give such particulars as I have been able to find, and as are consistent with the general purpose.

Jacob Carle (elder in 1771) died on his farm in 1800. He left sons, John and Israel; a grandson, Jacob; daughters, Hannah, wife of Aaron Vancleve, and Elizabeth, wife of John Van Mater. In a minute of the Trustees, March 31, 1787, it was "agreed that Mr. Jacob Carle, or his son, Captain Israel Carle, attend Mr. Armstrong to the Presbytery." In the church-porch is a stone

marking the death of Eliza, wife of Israel Carle, March 12, 1790, aged 29 years. Carle is a Huguenot name; Jean Carle was minister of the French Protestant church in the city of New-York in 1763.*

Benjamin Smith's name will be commemorated in a future chapter.

Ebenezer Cowell was a brother of the pastor, and his residuary legatee. He was chosen an elder for the town church, May 6, 1771. In 1782–4 he was a member of the "Committee of the West-Jersey Proprietors," with Joseph Reed, Jr., Jonathan D. Sergeant, Clement Biddle, and Daniel Ellis. He died May 4, 1799. His wife Sarah died in 1774. His children were John, Ebenezer, Joseph, Robert, Eunice, and Sarah, (Bowlsby.) The eldest of these was a physician, and died in 1789. A "Robert Cowell" died very suddenly, July 5, 1808; and a "Joseph Cowell" died September 30, 1808, aged 63; and at Broadway, Warren county, July 30, 1829, died, "Eunice Cowell, at an advanced age, formerly of Trenton."

William Tucker was brother of Samuel

* Documentary History, vol. iii. p. 489.

Tucker, the trustee, and died January 16, 1790; aged 55. His wife's name was Mercy; his sons William and Ellet; his daughter Mary, who was married to James B. Machett, a native of Trenton, and a member of the congregation. Mrs. Machett died at St. Charles, Missouri, July 20, 1833, in her 71st year; Mr. Machett, at the same place, August 1, 1833, in his 80th year.

Elijah Bond was probably an Episcopalian, but one of a number who had pews in the Presbyterian Church as well as their own. By his will, proved in 1786, he bequeathed five hundred pounds to St. Michael's Church, the interest of which was to be paid to the minister, in addition to his salary, provided one should be appointed and should officiate within seven years after his decease.

In the *Trenton Gazette* of June, 1784, Elijah Bond advertises at public sale a farm on which Major Willian Trent had lately resided, within two miles of Trenton, and containing about seven hundred acres. This property is in the vicinity of Lamberton, and was purchased by Barnt De Klyn, and in November, 1785, the mansion was destroyed by fire. It is not much out of place in this connection to mention that Mr. De Klyn,

who was a member of our church, was of a Huguenot family, born in Boston, October 31, 1745, and died on his farm, September 1, 1824. A daughter of Mr. De Klyn — the widow of General John Beatty—is among the living members of our church. In October, 1857, this venerable lady, "as a memorial of love to this church," presented a valuable silver flagon, inherited from her parents, which, according to her desire, the session accepted for the use of the communion-table, and to be kept without alteration.

William Bryant was a physician, and in his more advanced years, associated with him in practice the well-remembered Dr. Belleville. Dr. Bryant was a son of Captain William Bryant, of Perth Amboy, whose tombstone in that town records that he made fifty-five voyages between New-York and London, and died in 1772, at the age of 88. His wife survived him. "It is presumed," says Mr. Whitehead, "that they left two children—one son, Dr. William Bryant, who was living at Trenton in 1776, and thence supplied his mother's wants; and one daughter, Mary, who crossed the Atlantic with her father in early life, and resided some time in London,

where she became acquainted with the Rev. Dr. Watts, under whose instructions she received those religious impressions which in after life 'brought forth fruit abundantly,' being eminent for her piety and benevolence. She became the wife of the Hon. Wm. Peartree Smith, of New-York, and subsequently of New-Jersey—a scholar and a Christian."*

Archibald William Yard was one of the sons of Joseph Yard the Trustee. He died March 8, 1810, at the age of 78. Benjamin, another subscriber, was Joseph's brother.

Mrs. Abigail Coxe and Daniel Coxe were of the family of that name which was one of the earliest and most respectable among the large land-owners. Their more immediate membership was with the Church of England, and their loyalty to the mother-country survived the Revolution. In the case of Coxe *vs.* Gulick, in 1829, it was contended that on the third July, 1776, Daniel Coxe, residing in Trenton, was a subject of Great Britain, that he withdrew from the State in 1777, at the time of his decease lived under the

* History of Perth Amboy, p. 145.

British Government, and never acknowledged allegiance to New-Jersey.*

David Pinkerton is supposed to have died in 1781, leaving a family of children named David, Jane, Ann, John, Samuel, Joseph, William, and Mary, to whom, with his wife, he bequeathed his "shop-goods, cows and horses," dwelling-house and lot, "with my two orchard lots and meadow lot, and my little farm where Joseph Roberts lives. . . I thus take my leave of a troublesome world." The witnesses of his will were three of his co-signers in the congregation—Howe, Moore, and Woolsey. Another of them, Decow, was an executor, and a fifth, Paxton, was the Surrogate before whom it was brought to probate. Mr. Pinkerton's son and namesake was a clerk in the Trenton Bank, and is remembered for his passion for fishing in the Delaware after bank-hours. The only stone in our yard that bears the name of Pinkerton is that of a child (John) who died February 9, 1769. In August, 1794, there was a John Pinkerton, Jr., "intending shortly to remove to Philadelphia."

Joseph Paxton was the Surrogate just named.

* Halsted's Reports, v. 328. Sabine's American Loyalists, p. 232. Whitehead's Perth Amboy, p. 201. Field's Provincial Courts, p. 185.

In the portico of the church are memorials of Paxtons, namely: Joseph Paxton, who died Sept. 15, 1750; aged 48. (The Rev. Mr. Cowell was one of his executors.) Jane Paxton, June 1, 1768; 27 years. Children of Paxtons 1747–8.

Abraham Cottnam was a magistrate. In April, 1778, his executors (Robert Hoops, his son-in-law, and George Cottnam, his son,) advertise for the recovery of his dockets, taken from the office of Ebenezer Cowell, Esq., when the enemy were in Trenton. They offer for sale what had probably been the testator's residence, "Dowsdale, near Trenton, on the Hopewell road." His will, which was proved in February, 1776, directs his body to be "laid in Trenton church-yard, as near to my first wife and childdren as may be convenient, ... with as little expense as possible, consistent with decency." Robert Lettis Hooper and Benjamin Smith were two of the witnesses of his will, and Hon. Daniel Coxe was an executor. He desired and entreated his friend, William Pidgeon, Esq., to assist the executors with his advice. His wife was a daughter of Joseph Warrell, Sen. He gave to his son, Warrell Cottnam, all his law-books, including those which he claimed under the will

of Joseph Warrell, Esq., the elder, and to the same "his mother's family-pedigree roll by her mother's side, being of the Bradshaw family."

The senior Warrell here alluded to, was Attorney General in the administration of Governor Morris, and died in 1758. He left his own pedigree-roll to his son, his wife's to Mrs. Cottnam. David Cowell and Peter Kemble were witnesses to the will.

Joseph Warrell, Jr., died in Trenton in 1775. His will directed that his body be buried as near as possible to his parents, in the Trenton churchyard, but if he should happen to die a considerable distance from Trenton, "I will that by no means my estate shall be put to the expense of a conveyance thither." His grave is in our ground, near the church, and is thus inscribed:

"In the memory of Joseph Warrell, Esq., who departed this life March 6th, 1775; aged 36 years. This stone is erected, not from pomp, or pageantry, but from true affection.

"For other thoughts employ the widowed wife;
The best of husbands, loved in private life,
Bids her with tears to raise this humble stone,
That holds his ashes, and expects her own."

Hezekiah Howell. "An aged and respectable inhabitant," of this name, died October 15, 1800.

Isaac Decow was for a time the High Sheriff of Hunterdon. Isaac Decow, Alderman, died June, 1795, and was buried in the Friends' Meeting ground. Perhaps it was an ancestor of the family, of whom Dr. Franklin's Autobiography makes mention, when he says that among the principal people of New-Jersey, with whom he made acquaintance in 1727, when he was printing paper-money for the Province, was "Isaac Decow, the Surveyor General, . . . a shrewd, sagacious old man, who told me that he began for himself when young by wheeling clay for the brick-makers, learned to write after he was of age, carried the chain for surveyors, who taught him surveying, and he had now by his industry acquired a good estate; 'and,' said he, 'I foresee that you will soon work this man [Keimer] out of his business, and make a fortune in it at Philadelphia.' He had then not the least intimation of my intention to set up there or any where."

Micajah How was the second who bore the name of the old prophet. The first, a shoe-

maker, died in 1740, who had a son Samuel, and a kinsman, Israel Hewlings. Of this family was the Rev. Thomas Yardley How, for a time Rector of Grace Church, (Episcopal,) New-York, who had a share in the celebrated church controversy with Hobart, Linn, Beasley, Mason, Miller, and others in the early part of the present century. The Trenton newspaper of January 14, 1799, announces the death of Micajah How, Esq., formerly Sheriff of the county of Hunterdon, and one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of the County. In July, 1807, Dr. William Innesly, of Chester county, Pennsylvania, was married to "Mary, daughter of the late Micajah How, Esq., of this place." January 1, 1831, died, "Mary, wife of Dr. *Inslee*, and daughter of Micajah How, Esq., deceased, formerly of Trenton."

Six of the subscribers seem to have lived in the same neighborhood in February, 1772, as at that time a fire broke out in the house of Dunlap Adams, and spread to those of Merseilles, Cumings, Moore, Pinkerton, and How.

Joseph Higbee died in 1796, at the age of seventy-six. Another of the name died December 12, 1829, in his sixty-fifth year.

Merseilles is a French family which has had

its representatives with us for a century. Peter Mersellis—as the name is on his grave—died June 25, 1764, æt. forty-three. He was a carpenter. His wife was Hannah, and he had a son Edin, Eden, Edon, Edow, or Edo, according to the whim of the scrivener or copyist—perhaps, after all, a French termination attempted in English, like Eudang and Udang for Houdin, the rector of St. Michael's.* Edin or Edo Merseilles' will was proved in April, 1800; he was then residing in Prekness, Bergen county, and his wife's name is given as Aurenche and Arreanche. He left sons Peter, Edo, Cornelius, John, and Garret. His sisters were Rachel, Mary, and Elizabeth. His daughters, Anna, Caty, Arreanche, and Jenny: a grandson, Adrian Van Houten. An Eden Merseilles, merchant, died at Bridgeton, January 13, 1808, in his forty-ninth year. "He had been in business longer than any other person in town." Henry *Marselis* was a brewer in Trenton until his death, in 1753. His will mentions a sister Catherine, and brothers Peter and John. There

* None of these blunders are so remarkable as one upon a marble now standing in Northampton, Massachusetts, on the grave of a "daughter of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, President of *Prenceta* College, New-Jersey." Nor does this equal a professed quotation from a sermon of Edward Irving, in a work of Mr. Wilks, London, 1854, where the Presbyterial *exegesis* is called an "*ecce Jesum*"!

was a John *Merselous*, of Hopewell, whose will, in 1784, requires that fifteen geese should be kept on the farm to supply feathers for the beds which he bequeathed to his daughters. He had a son, John Holder.

Isaac Smith was at first a physician, and perhaps never wholly relinquished the profession; but at a time when the constitution of the highest judiciary department of the State allowed of lay-judges, Mr. Smith was placed on the Supreme Court bench, (February 15, 1777.) Hence, when he was elected a trustee of the congregation, March 12, 1788, his name is entered as "Doctor Isaac Smith, Esquire." His titles might have been extended; for he was Colonel-Commandant of the militia in the neighborhood of Trenton in the campaign of 1776. He was the first President of the Trenton Banking Company, having been elected to that post on the institution of the Bank, February 13, 1805, and continued in it until his death. He served eighteen years on the bench, "during which time," according to his obituary, "he was also elected by the suffrages of the people of New-Jersey, at a general State election, to the honorable station of a member of the House of Representatives of

the United States, where his high character for political wisdom and tried integrity was known and duly appreciated by all his co-patriots, and particularly by the illustrious Washington and Adams, with whom he enjoyed the intimacy of particular friendship." His epitaph is:

"ISAAC SMITH, Esq., died August 29th, 1807, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. With integrity and honest intentions, as a physician and a judge, to the best of his ability, he distributed health and justice to his fellow-men, and died in hopes of mercy through a Redeemer."

Of his wife, who died in 1801, the comprehensive character is graven on an adjoining stone:

"She was what a woman OUGHT to be."

It appears by other inscriptions that three sons preceded their parents to the grave: Edward, lost at sea, in 1791, at the age of twenty-five; John Pennington, in 1797; and Charles, Lieutenant of the first United States Regiment, in 1800, aged thirty-two. One of the bequests of Dr. Smith's will was as follows: "To the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church in the city of Trenton, one hundred dollars, with the interest that may arise thereon, to be applied towards building a new church; and provided, also, that they keep the

tombstones of myself and family in good repair. I have no descendants to perform this duty." His executors were Lydia Imlay of Trenton, Richard Stockton of Princeton, and Edward Pennington of Philadelphia.

Samuel Bellerjeau was a nephew of Samuel Tucker. His wife was Achsah; daughters, Hannah Gee and Sarah Brearley; sons, Henry, Benjamin, John, Samuel, Thomas, and Daniel. He died July 8, 1795, at the age of fifty-six, and his grave-stone is one of those that pave the portico of the present church.

Godfrey Wimer. I find no more than that a person of this name died in Nottingham township, June 5, 1801.

Bell. The only traces of this family are in the church-yard: James Bell, (probably the signer of Mr. Cowell's call,) September 10, 1747; age, seventy. John Bell, November 10, 1788; age, forty-six.

Von or Van Vechten and Vechte occur frequently in the Dutch churches of Somerset county, as commemorated in the "Pastor's Memorial" of the Rev. Dr. Messler, of Somerville, (1853.)

Woolsey has long been a highly respectable

family in the township and town. Benjamin was elected elder in 1797, but declined. Dr. Jeremiah Woolsey, "formerly of Trenton," died in Cincinnati, February 9, 1834, in his sixty-fifth year.

Mathis, sometimes Mathias, and probably also Mathews. The house of Captain James Mathis, deceased, at Lamberton, was advertised for sale in 1796.

William Pidgeon, already named in the notice of Mr. Cottnam, died at Stafford, Monmouth county, January 5, 1780. Elizabeth Cottnam appears in his will, among his relatives. He left fifty pounds to the Methodist Society of Trenton, "for the repair of their meeting-house." He also put three thousand pounds at the discretionary disposal of his executors, for charitable purposes, and "for the relief of my negroes as they may merit it." To the registration of his will is appended this paragraph: "Note, that the within named William Pidgeon was so burnt by getting out of his house when on fire, that he could not hold a pen to write his name, but a mark as above, and escaped in his shirt." From the testimony before the Surrogate, and from the newspapers, it appears that two children of Captain Isaac Andrews, two men-servants, and a hired man, were

burnt to death at this time, and that the fire was the cause of the fatal illness of Pidgeon himself.

George Creed was a physician. He removed to New-Jersey from Jamaica, Long Island, of which town William Creed was one of the patentees in 1686. Dr. Creed was born in Jamaica, October 1, 1735, and resided for some time in Flemington, before coming to Trenton. He married Susanna Coleman, of Maidenhead, in 1762, who died in Trenton, September 24, 1835, in her ninety-fourth year. Dr. Creed died suddenly, of apoplexy, on a visit to Jamaica, about the year 1775. His daughter, Mrs. Abigail Creed Ryall, still survives, (1859,) in the ninety-first year of her age, having been a communicant of our church for about sixty-three years.

Robert Lettis Hooper. The first person of this name was Chief-Justice of the Province from 1724 to 1728, and again from 1729 till his death in 1739. In an advertisement of February 18, 1752, occurs the name of "Robert Lettis Hooper, now living at Trenton;" and that of his son, Reynald, is in the lottery prospectus of 1753, copied in our Sixth Chapter. Robert L. Hooper, *Jr.*, had a store in Philadelphia, in December, 1762; was Deputy Quarter Master General in

1778; and was a Judge of the Common Pleas of Hunterdon in 1784. Robert Lettis Hooper died April 25, 1785, in his seventy-seventh year, and was buried in the Episcopal ground in Trenton. In *August*, of the same year, the death of a stranger (Ebenezer Erskine) is announced "at the seat of Robert Lettis Hooper, near Trenton," and Mr. Hooper was one of his acting executors. A paper of November 7, 1785, says: "Since our last the Hon. Robert Lettis Hooper, Esq., has been elected Vice-President of the Legislative council, in the room of John Cleves Symmes, appointed to Congress." In 1796, "Died at Belville, near Trenton, Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Robert L. Hooper, Esq." July 30, 1797, died "the Hon. Robert Lettice [so spelled sometimes] Hooper, formerly Vice-President of this State, in his sixty-seventh year." Soon afterwards is advertised for sale "that elegant seat called Belville, late the residence of R. L. Hooper," on the Delaware, and containing one hundred acres. Belville was the Sinclair and Rutherford country-seat already mentioned. It is advertised in September, 1806, by John Rutherford, as "the summer residence of the subscriber in the city of Trenton," having three hundred and thirty

acres on both sides of the river, and one of the lots between the new street and Colhoun's lane, including "Prospect Hill." This exhausts my memoranda of this name in the list of the contributors to Mr. Spencer's salary.

Robert Singer was at one time connected in merchandise with Bernard Hanlon, and at another in the auction business with Francis Witt. Witt kept a public house; at one time "the Blazing Star," at another, "an ordinary at the sign of Dr. Franklin, near the market." The Trustees sometimes held their meetings at his inn.

John Clunn lived in Lamberton. In August, 1781, the *Gazette* mentions the death of the widow of John Clunn, aged eighty-three, "and in the evening of the same day, the weather being very warm, her remains were interred in the (Episcopal) church burying-place."

Joseph Clunn appears in the Revolution as "Captain in the State Regiment." In 1785 "Captain Clunn" kept an inn which bore the sign of Alexander the Great. In the Episcopal ground are the graves of Joseph Clunn, Sen., who died in 1798, aged fifty-nine; and of John H. Clunn, 1798, aged twenty-eight. In the

Presbyterian ground is the grave of Amey Clunn, December 12, 1834; aged seventy-six.

John Fitch is one of the historical names of America, in connection with the invention or introduction of navigation by steam. He was a native of Connecticut, where his father was "a most strenuous Presbyterian." In May, 1769, he came to Trenton, and Matthew Clunn, a tinman, employed him in the manufacture of brass buttons. He also picked up some knowledge of the watchmaker's trade. Clunn's next door neighbor was James Wilson, a silversmith, who employed Fitch as a sort of apprentice; but in a short course of time Wilson failed, and became Fitch's journeyman. One of his biographers says:

"His skill and perseverance soon enabled him to master the difficulties of his calling, and money began to flow into his pockets. When the war of the American Revolution commenced, he was well established, doing an extensive business. The faculty of acquiring property appears to have been in him as strong as his disposition to spend it when acquired. His shop and its contents were estimated at three thousand dollars when the British army entered the village of Trenton. The troops were attracted to it, because he had large contracts for the repair of American arms. They proceeded to burn the establishment, and destroy the tools and all his visible property."

When the first military company was formed at Trenton, in support of the Revolution, Fitch was one of the lieutenants, and had that rank in the cantonment at Valley Forge. The Committee of Safety afterwards made him their gunsmith, or armorer, and he was expelled from the "Methodist Society" for working at that business on the Sabbath. He had a quarrel with Alexander Chambers, in the Commissary department, and with John Yard, about military rank. When the enemy entered Trenton, in December, 1776, Fitch removed to Bucks county. He attended the Presbyterian church of Neshamony, of which the Rev. Nathaniel Irwin was for many years the minister, and who appears to have taken much notice of his ingenuity. It was on his return afoot from that church, lame with rheumatism, that the passing of vehicles caused him to feel the contrast with his own difficult locomotion, and suggested the idea of "gaining a force by steam," that would relieve pedestrians of their disadvantage.* After mak-

* "I do certify that I was returning with John Fitch from the Neshaminey meeting, some time in April, 1785, as near I can recollect the time, when a gentleman and his wife passed by us in a riding-chair; he immediately grew inattentive to what I said. Some time after he in-

ing the first draft of a steam-power, Mr. Irwin showed him, in "Martin's Philosophy," that the steam-engine had been already invented, and that the desideratum was to apply it to navigation. It was to the Neshamony pastor that Fitch addressed his autobiography, which was deposited under seal in the Philadelphia library, with injunctions that it was not to be opened until thirty years after the inventor's death. Stacy Potts was one of the company formed to assist Fitch in his experiments, and he, with Isaac Smith, Robert Pearson, Jr., Samuel Tucker, Abraham Hunt, and Rensselaer Williams,* John and Charles Clunn, and others of Trenton, gave their names to the application to the Legislature of 1790, which obtained for him fourteen years' ex-

formed me that at that instant the first idea of a steamboat struck his mind. James Ogilbee." (Fitch's Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 1788; reprinted in Documentary History of New-York, vol. ii.)

* Rensselaer Williams was a Justice of the Peace. In 1781 he was Librarian of the "Trenton Library Company." He was one of the founders, in that year, of the "Trenton School Company," or Academy. He was found dead in the street, opposite the State House, December, 1796. His grave is in the Episcopal ground, where his age is given at sixty-four. Adjoining it is the grave of Rensselaer Williams, Jr., who died at the house of Abraham Hunt, in 1801; aged thirty-three years. He was in mercantile business in Cooperstown, New-York.

clusive privilege on this side of the Delaware. His boat Perseverance made several trips between Philadelphia and Trenton in that year.*

Fitch visited the Western States, and was for some time in captivity among the Indians. In Collins's *Trenton Gazette*, of July, 1785, is the following advertisement:

"John Fitch having traversed the country north-west of the Ohio, in the several capacities of a captive, a surveyor, and a traveller, as the result of his labors and remarks has completed, and now wishes to sell, a new, accurate *Map* of that country, generally distinguished by the Ten New States, including Kentucky, which opens immense sources of wealth and advantageous speculation to the citizens of the United States, and therefore is an object of general attention. Having performed the engraving and printing himself, he is enabled to sell at the very small price of a French crown.

* It was one of Fitch's or Rumsey's experiments that Franklin wrote of in Philadelphia, October, 1788: "We have no philosophical news here at present, except that a boat, moved by a steam-engine, rows itself against tide in our river, and it is apprehended the construction may be so simplified and improved as to become generally useful." (Sparks's Franklin, x. 363.) I have seen a letter of Fitch to Stacy Potts, Philadelphia, July 28, 1786, in which he expresses the greatest satisfaction in his prospects. "We have now tried every part, and reduced it to as certain a thing as can be, that we shall not come short of ten miles per hour, if not twelve or fourteen. I will say fourteen in theory and ten in practice."

"N. B.—They are also to be sold by Enos Kelsey, in Princeton, and by the printer hereof."

It is said that this map, projected and engraved by himself, was printed also by him in a Bucks county cider-press. In May, 1785, he wrote to his patron, Potts, from Bucks, that his map is so far formed that he "shall want paper for it thirty inches by twenty-three, and would wish to see you on the occasion, but am so engaged that I can not spare the time to go over to Trenton."

In November, 1785, Fitch gave to the Governor of Virginia (Patrick Henry) a bond for three hundred and fifty pounds, "conditioned for exhibiting his steamboat" on the waters of that State, "when he receives subscriptions for one thousand of his maps, at 6*s.* 8*d.* each.

From the Methodists and Presbyterians, Fitch went over to the Universalists. One of his biographers says he was "a drinking man" in his later years, "but it is believed he was not a drunkard." Another says he was "a man of extremely temperate habits for that time." The latter writer attributes his death to "gradual suicide" by the use of spirituous liquors, and says

that he "foretold the length of time that his constitution would survive, by a mathematical ratio of debility."* But the version of the other, and latest author, is that being ill, he purposely made one dose of twelve opium pills, which had been directed to be taken at intervals.† He died at Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1798. "Will a delay of half a century," asks his biographer of 1847, "in rendering public justice to the watch-maker and gunsmith of Trenton, weaken the obligations of his countrymen to admire his genius?"

James Wilson was probably the silversmith mentioned in the preceding article. His father had prospered in Perth Amboy; and Wilson, having some patrimony, neglected his trade and became intemperate. It was upon his becoming involved in some responsibility in Wilson's business, that Fitch undertook to pay the debt, by taking his tools, when the master and journeyman exchanged places.

William Smith was the name of the landlord

* Memoir by Charles Whittlesey, in Sparks's Library of American Biography, vol. xvi. 1847.

† Life, drawn from his Autobiography in the Philadelphia Library: by Thompson Westcott, 1857.

of whom Fitch hired a room in Trenton where he carried on the manufacture of silver and brass buttons for peddling. The only place in which I find the name is in an inscription in the graveyard, the age of the subject of which is rather too young for a subscriber in 1770.

"In affectionate remembrance, from a bereft consort and fatherless offspring of William Smith, who died April 11th, 1799, aged forty years."

Joseph Brittain was a shoemaker, and a man of property. He was the principal owner of the lot on which the State House is built. In January, 1792, he conveyed two and a quarter acres to the Commissioners of the State for the nominal price of five shillings, and in February, of the same year, three quarters of an acre for sixty-seven pounds and ten shillings.* Mr. Brittain was a member of this church from 1809 to 1813, when his connection ceased in consequence of his having embraced doctrines too much at variance with those of our communion for his comfortable continuance.

* On the same day William Reeder (which name is also among the signatures) conveyed one quarter of an acre for the same purpose, at the price of sixty-two pounds ten shillings; and George Ely half an acre for one hundred and twenty pounds.

Samuel Henry was a large owner of real estate in Trenton and elsewhere. He devised to his children extensive tracts in Nottingham and Trenton, including "the old iron-works," and in Pennsylvania. His children (mentioned individually as son or daughter of "Mary Ogilbee") were George, Samuel, Frances, and Mary. He left a property in Trenton to Mary Yard, daughter of William Yard, on condition of her keeping it as a comfortable home for his children during their minority; making special reference to the vacations of his sons when they should be students at Princeton College. Their names, however, are not on the Catalogue. Mr. Henry had a brother Alexander in Ireland, whose son Arthur H. is prominent as the first legatee in his will, but is disposed of with five shillings. He left a contingent legacy of three hundred pounds "to the Trustees or managers of the English Church in Trenton, for the maintenance and support of an orthodox minister." In the yard of that church are the tombstones of Samuel Henry, January 9, 1795, twenty-four years; Samuel Henry, May 10, 1784, sixty-seven years; George Henry, October 23, 1846, seventy-six years. The wives of George Henry and Aaron D. Woodruff, Attorney General, were

sisters—Mary and Grace, daughters of Thomas Lowrey. There is a fourth stone in the group, marked Mrs. Mary Henry, January 23, 1804; twenty-nine years. There died in Bloomsbury, January 5, 1832, "Katy Willis, a native of Africa, aged one hundred and twelve years. She was formerly a domestic in the family of Samuel Henry, Sen., of Trenton."

Hugh Runyon, or Runyan, built one of the few good houses now standing in Lamberton, lately of the estate of John E. Smith, probably included in fifty acres in Nottingham township, which Runyon conveyed to Elijah Bond in 1777. He removed to Kingwood, and died there. I have seen a deed of 1799, in which he conveyed land to his son, Daniel C. Runyon, of Nottingham.

Stephen Lowrey married Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Spencer. He had been a merchant in Maryland, but after his marriage in Trenton resided there, and for some time, at least, at the parsonage; as there are advertisements of "Stephen Lowrey, at the Rev. Mr. Spencer's," offering "the highest price for loan office bills on the Commissioners in France." He appears also to have been connected with the Commissariat Department in the Revolution; as in November,

1779, he offered a reward of a thousand dollars (Continental currency) for nine barrels of flour stolen from "the Continental store-house at Trenton." Mrs. Lowrey's grave is next to that of her father. Elsewhere in the church-yard is a stone marked Thomas Lowrey, Jr., March 11, 1803; age, thirty-one.

Of this sort was the congregation to which Mr. Spencer came to minister. At a time when neither the Episcopalians nor Presbyterians were strong enough to maintain pastors for the exclusive service of their town churches, a number were accustomed to hold pews in both, that they might have the opportunity of worship in one or the other place every Lord's day. There seems to have been no difficulty even in holding offices alternately in both. Of the subscribers to the agreement when Mr. Spencer was called, the names of Pidgeon, Bond, Coxe, Hooper, Cottnam, How, Decow, Singer, Witt, Clunn, and Adams are to be found among the Wardens and Vestrymen of St. Michael's between 1755 and 1783. From July 7, 1776, to January 4, 1783, that church was not opened at all for divine service.

Chapter Thirteenth.

Dr. Spencer's Ministry.—Revolutionary Incidents in Trenton.

1773—1780.

In the year 1773 there appears to have been a reärrangement of the pew-holding, probably in consequence of some addition to the number of pews. A meeting of the congregation took place on the seventeenth May, "for regulating and granting seats and pews in the meeting-house." Certain pews—from one to twenty-four—are directed to be "numbered," and they are "rated," from £1 10*s.* in the gallery, to £3 10*s.* below. It was ordered that

"Every person, or persons, entitled to a pew by original purchase or grant, be continued in their right, on his or their paying their annual subscription or rate, in proportion to the size of the pew such person may possess; not under forty shillings, nor exceeding three pounds ten shillings." "William Patterson made application for one half of any pew below stairs." "James Peak applied

for one half of Mr. Pidgeon's pew in the gallery: in case Mr. Pidgeon should give it up, he would give fifteen shillings per annum for the half."

There is no record to show when, if at all, Mr. Spencer was installed in Trenton. At his reception by the Presbytery, in 1771, it was without the mention of any particular charge. One cause that prevented this, may have been the confusion and uncertainty arising out of the state of public affairs in colonies approaching a revolution. His patriotic spirit may have forethought that he should be called, if not like his co-presbyter, Witherspoon, to the public councils, yet to a return to his chaplaincy in the army. In 1775 such an opportunity of serving both his country and Church was presented, and it originated in the impressions made during his missionary visit to North-Carolina.* In December of that year a special meeting of the Presbytery was summoned at Princeton, to hear an application from him. He then stated that in consequence of a resolution of Congress, he had been

* The Provincial Congress of New-Jersey, which sat from October 4th to 28th, 1775, had their daily sessions opened with prayer. Mr. Spencer was the first to officiate as chaplain.

invited by the delegates of North-Carolina to take a journey thither, "and preach and converse for some time among those people, as their case is extremely critical." Dr. Witherspoon was Moderator of the meeting; and the minute is that "the Presbytery most cheerfully acquiesce with the motion, and appoint Mr. Spencer to comply with the request; and appoint supplies for his several congregations during his absence; and ordered that the Moderator furnish Mr. Spencer with proper testimonials to the churches of Christ in North-Carolina."

In the Journal of the Continental Congress, of December 20, 1775, is this minute:

"Resolved, That orders be drawn on the Treasurers, in favor of the Rev. Mr. Elihu Spencer and the Rev. Mr. Alexander Macwhorter, who have undertaken to go to North-Carolina, for the sum of one hundred and twenty dollars each, being three months' advance, they to be accountable."

The late Mrs. Biddle, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, a daughter of Dr. Spencer, who survived him until 1858, gave to me in 1841 the following memorandum of this mission:

"In the beginning of the Revolutionary contest my

father and Dr. Macwhorter, of Newark, were appointed by Congress to visit the more remote parts of Virginia, Georgia, North and South-Carolina, for the purpose of informing the settlers there, who were at the time exceedingly ignorant, of the cause of the Revolution and the necessity of standing forth in defense of their right and country. This circumstance made my father very obnoxious to the British, who suffered his library with all the writings of his whole life to be burnt and entirely destroyed."

A daughter of Mrs. Biddle has since written to me that she has frequently heard her mother relate the incidents of that period, and their serious consequences to the zealous advocate of Independence, after his return to Trenton, which was soon in the centre of warfare. His interference was considered rebellion, and the authorities of the royal government offered a reward of a hundred guineas for his head.

"This was known," says my correspondent, "to the American officers, and one of them (I think General Mercer) sent a messenger to him in the night to say that the British army were near, and that he must fly for his life. My mother was about nine years old, and recollects perfectly the panic and flight in the middle of the night. They went to St. George's, in Delaware, where they were treated with the utmost kindness and affection. My grandfather preached there until it was safe to return to

Trenton. On the return of the family they found their furniture, books, and papers destroyed, and the house itself so much injured that it was scarcely habitable. My mother has often told me that her father was so discouraged by the loss of his papers, that from that time he never wrote another sermon; preaching merely from short notes."

In 1781 the Legislature of New-Jersey appointed Commissioners to "procure an estimate of the damages sustained by the inhabitants of this State from the waste and spoil committed by the troops in the service of the enemy, or their adherents." Peter Gordon, Sidney Berry, and Joseph Phillips were the Commissioners for Hunterdon county. From their report we can ascertain minutely the loss suffered by Dr. Spencer, and also that of the Church corporation. In the return of the former are given, "five hundred and twenty-four panel fence, four rails with post;" "one hundred and sixty-seven panel of red cedar post and rail-fence, good as new;" agricultural implements, wheat in the stalk and in the ground, cattle, furniture, maps, clothing, china, glass, three spinning-wheels, provisions; "stable totally destroyed." To this inventory Dr. Spencer adds:

"A large chest and barrel of books, packed close, but the particular volumes I can not remember or fully recollect. Among them were all the school-books and classics in Greek and Latin; a large collection of Hebrew books, French dictionary, grammar, and Bible, and several other books in French; Pool's Annotations on the Bible, Bates' Works in large folio, Willard's Works, with his Body of Divinity; six large volumes of Caryl upon Job; Pope's, Swift's, and Addison's Works; Mr. Edwards's Works, of Northampton, with a number of mathematical and philosophical books; Dr. Witherspoon's Works, a good many of Wall's Works, several volumes of Doddridge's Works, besides his Family Expositor, and a great number of volumes on different subjects, which I can not recollect. The estimate of these books I leave to the discretion of the Commissioners, not being able to give a more particular account, but beg leave to say, I have always estimated the loss of the library to be one hundred pounds at the least."

His affidavit was made September 6, 1783. Putting the books at eighty pounds, the total of the Commissioners' appraisement was £387 17*s.* 9*d.*

The parsonage was used by the Hessians for an hospital. The communion plate was plundered. The particulars of the loss sustained are given as follows:

"An inventory of damages done to the Presbyterian

Church in Trenton, and public property destroyed by the enemy in December, 1776:

"303 feet of board fence three feet high, 45 round posts and rails, which was round the burying-ground,	6	0	0
11 panel post and 4 rail fence,	1	2	0
140 panes glass,	4	1	8
Large gates, hooks, and hinges,	1	10	0
A silk damask curtain and hangings,	12	0	0
A silver can with two handles, and large plate,	20	0	0
Damages done to the parsonage house whilst an Hessian hospital, (app'd by Miss Axford,)	19	5	0
1400 feet of boards stript off the stable,	5	5	0
310 feet board fence, five feet high, 40 posts and rails, round the parsonage garden,	6	16	4
2 large front gates, hooks, and hinges,	1	0	0
1 well-curb, bucket, and chain,	1	10	0
1 table-cloth and about ten yards diaper,	2	0	0
	£80	10	0

"Alexander Chambers being duly sworn, deposes and says, that the within inventory is just and true, to the best of his knowledge, and that no pay or compensation hath been received for the same or any part thereof.

"In behalf of the congregation,

"Alexander Chambers, Trustee."

"Sworn this seventh day of September, 1782,

"Jos. Phillips."

On the second January, 1777, Cornwallis en-

tered Trenton. One of the members of our Presbytery was a victim to the barbarity of the troops under his command. This was the Rev. John Rosborough, pastor of Allentown, Pennsylvania, who was received as a candidate May 22, 1762; licensed a probationer, August 16, 1763, and ordained December 11, 1764. He was Moderator of the Presbytery in 1776. According to the report made to Synod, he was "barbarously murdered by the enemy at Trenton on January second." In a letter to Richard Henry Lee, of January 14, Dr. Rush wrote: "The savages [Hessians] murdered a clergyman, a chaplain to a battalion of militia, in cold blood, at Trenton, after he had surrendered himself and begged for mercy. His name was Rosborough."* It ought, however, to be mentioned that before he was commissioned as chaplain, Mr. Rosborough had united with his neighbors in forming a company to recruit Washington's forces on their retreat through New-Jersey, and from a sentence in a letter to his wife, a few days before his capture, it seems probable that he was even then "riding with a French fusee slung at his back."

* Memoirs of R. H. Lee, vol. ii. 165.

The particulars of the outrage are given by Dr. Sprague as follows:

"Mr. Rosborough proceeded with his company to Trenton; and, as he was going towards the river in search of his horse, he was met by a company of Hessians under British command. He immediately gave himself up as a prisoner, but begged, for the sake of his wife and children, that they would spare his life. He quickly found, however, that his request was to be denied, and that the bloody deed was to be performed without delay. He instantly knelt down, and, in imitation of his blessed Master, prayed for the forgiveness of his murderers, and scarcely had this prayer passed from his lips before a deadly weapon pierced his body, and he lay struggling in death. They then took his watch, and part of his clothing, and left him weltering in his blood. The wretched creature who had committed the act, or had had a principal part in it, went immediately after, with the fury of a madman, into one of the hotels in Trenton, and profanely boasted to the woman who kept it, that he had killed a rebel minister, and showed her his watch; but he added that it was too bad he should have been praying for them when they were murdering him. A young man by the name of John Hayes, of Mr. Rosborough's congregation, took charge of the corpse, and buried it the next day in an obscure place in Trenton. The Rev. George Duffield, of Philadelphia, having heard of the sad event, took measures to have the body removed to the churchyard for its final interment."*

* Annals, vol. iii. 254. I am sorry to say that there is no trace of the chaplain's grave in our grounds.

Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Duffield, mentioned in this extract, was one of the chaplains of the First Congress. He would occasionally leave his congregation for a short time to serve as a missionary to the troops when they were within easy reach. It was probably during such an errand as this that he became acquainted with Mr. Rosborough's death; for, according to the annalist just quoted:

"He was with the army in their battles and retreat through Jersey, and was almost the very last man that crossed the bridge over the stream immediately south of Trenton, before it was cut down by order of the American General. For this preservation he was indebted to a Quaker friend, whom he had essentially aided in his hour of trial—though of politics opposed to his own—and whose deliverance he had been the means of securing. The British officers had put a price upon his head, and were particularly anxious to destroy him, because of the influence he exerted among the soldiers of the American army. After the retreat from Princeton, he had retired to a private house in Trenton to seek repose, and was not aware that the American army had taken up their line of march, and had nearly all crossed the bridge, until his Quaker friend sought him out and gave him the alarm, just in time for him to escape, before the bridge was destroyed by the retreating army of Washington."*

* Annals, vol iii. 191. From the same authority I find that the Rev.

From the blanks in the minutes of the Trustees, it appears that there was no meeting of the Board in 1776. In that eventful year the Presbytery held five sessions: at Boundbrook in April, at Philadelphia (during Synod) in May, at Princeton in June, (to receive Mr. Armstrong as a candidate,) at Amwell in July, at Baskingridge in October. The State was the seat of war. In the beginning of December Washington and a large body of troops were at Trenton. Later in the month a brigade of three Hessian regiments, one of them Colonel Rahl's, was stationed here. The Colonel kept the town in commotion, even before he thought of being attacked.

"The cannon," said one of his lieutenants in his journal, "must be drawn forth every day from their proper places, and paraded about the town, seemingly only to make a stir and uproar. There was a church [the Episcopal] close by his quarters, surrounded by palings; the officer on guard must march round and round it, with his men and musicians, looking like a Catholic procession, wanting only the cross, and the banners, and chaunting

Mr. Macwhorter was in the camp of Washington, opposite Trenton, at the time of the battle of 1776; and that William Paxton (afterwards D.D.) was in the ranks on that occasion, iii. 210, 554.

choristers. The hautboys—he could never have enough of them."*

On the twenty-sixth was the famous battle. Rahl was carried mortally wounded to his quarters in Warren street†—the residence of Stacy Potts.‡

The journal of his Lieutenant, as translated in Mr. Irving's work, says:

"He died on the following evening, and lies buried in this place which he has rendered so famous, in the grave-

* Irving's Life of Washington, ch. xliii.

† Then King street, as the present Greene was Queen. The former was also familiarly called Front, and the latter Back street. The "Federal Post or Trenton Weekly Mercury," was printed in 1788, by Quequelle and Wilson, "on the north side of Front st., opposite the English Church," the neighborhood of Rahl's death.

‡ This house is advertised for rent in the *Trenton Gazette*, December, 1784, where it is said to have been lately occupied by the President of Congress. It was provided for his use by James Ewing, Moore Furman, and Conrad Kotts, by the direction of the Legislature, (August 25, 1784.) The lease, which is before me, stipulates also for "the hay-house nearly full of very good hay, with the stables on each side thereof, together with a tenplate stove belonging to the front part of the said house," but "reserving the use of the road as it now goes to the tan-yard, and so much of the lot as Samuel Phillips may have occasion for, adjoining his shop." The lease was for one year from October 30, 1784, at one hundred and fifty pounds in gold or silver, (four hundred dollars.) The house was the residence of Stacy Potts, and not a tavern, as is stated in Lossing's "Field Book." It was taken down in 1857.

yard of the Presbyterian Church. Sleep well! dear commander! The Americans will hereafter set up a stone above thy grave with this inscription:

"Hier liegt der Oberst Rahl,
Mit ihm ist alles all!"*

The first mention of celebrating the anniversary of the battle of Trenton which I have found is in 1806, December 26, when the Trenton Light Infantry had a parade and a dinner, and in the evening the Rev. Mr. Stamford preached in the Baptist Church, from the text, "I was free-born." The observance afterwards degenerated into an annual sham-fight.

Mr. Spencer was present at the election of Trustees of the congregation, September 2, 1777, "at the house of Mr. John Chambers." He attended the sessions of Synod and Presbytery in Philadelphia, May, 1776, and of Presbytery, at Amwell, July 31, on which day he presided and preached at the ordination of Mr. Warford, and his installment over the congregation of Amwell. In April, 1782, this minute is found:

* "Here lies Colonel Rahl; all is over with him." The Americans have delayed the fulfillment of the prediction until it has become impossible to identify the "hier" for the epitaph.

"The Presbytery thinks it proper here to note, that the trouble occasioned by the war has been the general reason why the members of Presbytery have attended with so little punctuality for a number of years past — this State having been either the seat of war, or contiguous to it, since the year 1776."

To the ravages of war is probably owing the order of the Trustees in August, 1780, that "a subscription be opened in town and country for repairing the parsonage-house, which at present is in a ruinous condition." A committee of 1792, to search for missing records, reported "that none were to be found, and that there is much reason to believe that those minutes were lost during the late Revolution, among the papers of Dr. Spencer and Mr. Halsey." And in their reply, through the Rev. Mr. Armstrong, to the requisition of the General Assembly for historical materials, the Presbytery of April, 1793, report: "They labor under peculiar difficulties, in this respect, from the extent of the ravages of the enemy in the State of New-Jersey during the late war. The minutes of the Presbytery have been lost with the papers of the late Dr. Spencer, down to a late date." As early as 1779, Mr. Spencer himself,

"As Standing Clerk, is requested to collect all the papers belonging to this Presbytery, from the several members or others in whose hands they may have been heretofore deposited; to be complied with by our next Presbytery."

Nine years after Spencer's death,

"Mr. Woodhull informed the Presbytery that the old minutes, [prior to 1771,] so long searched for in vain, were known to be in the possession of Mr. Warford, of the Presbytery of Albany, and it was ordered that Mr. Woodhull take suitable measures to procure them," (September 18, 1793.)

As a further illustration of the hazards of ecclesiastical records of the times, and a probable explanation of the fate of many documents of the Trenton congregation, I produce the substance of an affidavit presented to the New-Jersey Legislature, in February, 1777, by Samuel Tucker, who was both a Trustee and Clerk of the Board. As Treasurer of the State he had a large amount of the paper currency, and other valuable public property in his custody. Hearing that the British army under Howe was likely to pass through Trenton, he removed his effects to the house of John Abbott, five miles off. Howe arrived in Trenton December 8, 1776, and next

day Lieutenant General Abercrombie sent Lieutenant Hackshaw with a detachment to Abbott's under the guidance of one Mary Pointing, where they captured Tucker's property and carried it to New-Brunswick. On the 14th December, Tucker, on his way to Trenton, was met near Crosswicks by a party of horsemen, who took him prisoner, and detained him until a protection was obtained from the Hessian Colonel Rahl. He lost all the papers, public and private, which were thus removed. This statement of Tucker's was the cause of a controversy between him and Governor Livingston, (who wrote under the signature of "Scipio,") in the *New-Jersey Gazette* of 1784.

I suppose they were our pastor and trustee whose names occur in the diary of John Adams, September 19, 1777, when Congress were withdrawing from Philadelphia on the approach of the enemy. He says: "We rode to Trenton, where we dined. Drank tea at Mr. Spencer's; lodged at Mr. S. Tucker's, at his kind invitation."

The journal of the next day may have its local interest for some of my readers:

"20th. Breakfasted at Mrs. J. B. Smith's. The old gentleman, his son Thomas, the loan officer, were here, and Mrs. Smith's little son and two daughters. An ele-

gant breakfast we had, of fine Hyson, loaf-sugar, and coffee, etc. Dined at Williams's, the sign of the Green Tree; drank tea with Mr. Thomson [Charles Thomson ?] and his lady at Mrs. Jackson's; walked with Mr. Duane to General Dickinson's house, and took a look at his farm and gardens, and his green-house, which is a scene of desolation; the floor of the green-house is dug up by the Hessians in search for money. Slept again at Tucker's."

Mr. Adams's first sight of Trenton was in August, 1774, when his diary records:

"Rode to Trenton [from Princeton, where he heard Dr. Witherspoon preach] to breakfast. At Williams's the tavern at Trenton ferry, we saw four very large black-walnut trees, standing in a row behind the house.* The town of Trenton is a pretty village. It appears to be the largest town we have seen in the Jerseys. We then crossed the ferry over the Delaware river to the province of Pennsylvania."

* Williams's tavern is also mentioned by the Marquis de Chastellux, at the time of whose visit an addition seems to have been made to the emblems of its sign; for he says it represented a beaver at work with his teeth to bring down a large tree, and had the motto "*Perseverando.*" (*Travels in North-America*, 1780–2.) The tree, beaver, and legend constituted one of the devices printed on the Continental currency of 1776; the money which fell so much below the promise on its face, that in the Trenton advertisements of 1780 may be found offers of a thousand dollars reward for an absconding servant—fifteen hundred for a stolen mare—ten thousand for the detection of the incendiary of a barn. The subscription of the *Weekly Gazette*, of that year, was fourteen dollars by the quarter.

In the Presbytery of August, 1776, a singular complaint was presented against Mr. Spencer, arising out of his visit to North-Carolina. Mr. John Debow, who had just been called to Eno and Hawfields, submitted a letter from the Presbytery of Orange, in North-Carolina, complaining that Mr. Spencer had baptized a child of the Rev. Mr. Lisle, a minister from Scotland, who, without joining the Presbytery, was preaching in some of their vacant congregations, and gathering a new parish out of them. The minutes proceed to narrate that,

"After diligent inquiry of Mr. Debow, concerning what he knew of the life and conversation of Mr. Lisle, and having received all the light he was able to give them, the Presbytery judge that Mr. Lisle hath a right to Church privileges, and that Mr. Spencer, in baptizing his child, has done no more than what the laws of charity and church-fellowship required of him, and that the complaint against him is without foundation."

The States were divided into three military departments. The middle department comprised New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the lower counties on the Delaware, (now the State of Delaware,) and Maryland. In October,

1776, William Shippen, Jr., was directed to provide and superintend an hospital for the army in New-Jersey, and on October 20, 1777,

"Congress proceeded to the election of a chaplain for the hospital in the middle department, and the ballots being taken, the Rev. Elihu Spencer was elected."

In May, 1780, Mr. Spencer was afflicted by the death of his daughter, Mrs. Sarah Lowrey, in her twenty-fifth year. She was buried from her father's house. She was one of the ladies of Trenton who sympathized in the measures which originated in Pennsylvania, for the relief of the suffering troops by raising contributions to add to their slender wages. Active measures were taken here on the fourth of July of that year, to effect this object. A general committee was then appointed, composed of Mrs. Coxe, Mrs. Dickinson, Mrs. Furman, and Miss Cadwalader, and another committee for each county. That for Hunterdon consisted of "Mrs. Vice-President Stevens, Mrs. Judge Smith, Mrs. Charles Coxe, Mrs. R. Stevens, Mrs Hanna, Mrs. T. Lowrey, Mrs. J. Sexton, Mrs. B. Vancleve, Mrs. Colonel Berry, Mrs. Doctor Burnet." Mrs. Moore Furman was Treasurer, and Miss Mary Dagworthy,

Secretary. A letter is preserved in Washington's correspondence, from Miss Dagworthy, dated at Trenton, July 17, 1780, which transmitted to the Chief the sum of $15,488—allowing for the depreciated currency, actually about $390.*

* Sparks's Writings of Washington, vol. vii. 90.

Chapter Fourteenth.

Close of Dr. Spencer's Ministry—His Death.

1780—1784.

Throughout the years of Mr. Spencer's ministry in Trenton he was a prominent member of the different church-courts, and often served as Moderator, Clerk, Treasurer, and Committee-man. When the Synod (1769) regarded the College of New-Jersey so much of a church institution as to divide themselves into committees for collecting donations from all parts of their territory, Mr. Spencer and Mr. McDowell had Chester and parts of Lancaster county, in Pennsylvania, assigned to them. In 1770 and the five consecutive years Spencer was a delegate from the Synod to the Congregational and Presbyterian Convention which met alternately in Connecticut and New-Jersey. He was frequently called to take part in collecting and disbursing the Students' Fund, and Widows' Fund, and

was an official visitor of Mr. Brainerd's Indian School. In the absence of the Moderator he opened the Synod of 1782 with a sermon. His name then appears for the first time with the title of Doctor of Divinity, which degree was given him by the University of Pennsylvania, in March, 1782, at the same time with the Rev. William White, who was afterwards so distinguished as a Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church.*

In 1782 Dr. Spencer was associated with Dr. Witherspoon and Joseph Montgomery, in a committee "to prepare an address to the Minister of France, congratulating him on the birth of a Dauphin, son and heir to the crown of his royal master; expressing the pleasure the Synod feel on this happy event."† The last office assigned to him by the Synod was in 1784, the

* In the minutes of the Trustees of the University, Mr. Spencer is called *Elisha*. The same mistake is made in the first edition of Thompson's History of Long Island, where also his great-grandfather Jared is called Gerard.

† The Minister was the Chevalier de la Luzerne. The Dauphin was son of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, and died in childhood. The birth was formally announced to Congress, and by Congress to the Governors of the States. It was celebrated in Trenton, May 24, 1782, when the "town artillery paraded at the market-place," and a dinner was attended by the officers of the State at "the French Arms."

year of his death, when he was made one of the committee of conference and correspondence with the Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church.

There being extant no record of the proceedings of the Session during Dr. Spencer's ministry, nor any registry of the communicants of that period, it is not in my power to furnish such statistics as might show the progress of the three churches in those relations. The minutes of the Trustees have been preserved, but are meager in their details. The following persons were members of the Board during Dr. Spencer's incumbency:

Charles Clark,	Obadiah Howell,
Alexander Chambers,	Daniel Clark
Abraham Hunt,	Joseph Tindal,
Joseph Reed Jr.,	Nathaniel Furman,*
Samuel Tucker,	Moore Furman.

These Trustees served for the country and town congregations, but not for Maidenhead. Their meetings were held in town, and either at the church or parsonage. Mr. Chambers was uni-

* Mr. FURMAN was in the Board from 1780 to 1788. I suppose that it is his death which is published as having taken place April 27, 1831, in his eighty-eighth year. Mr. TINDAL'S is an old and respectable family. The other Trustees are spoken of in detail in other chapters.

formly chosen Treasurer, Mr. Tucker, Clerk, and Mr. Spencer, President, until May, 1783, when he ceased to be a Trustee, and Mr. Chambers was both President and Treasurer. The proceedin were not of much greater importance than to build "a shed between the parsonage-house and the stable, out of the six pounds rent put at interest;" "to repair the roof of the stable," "to rent out and agree for the several pews that at this time are vacant, and get the two long seats made into four small pews, and rent them out also;" to order "that all the pews shall pay the annual assessment as they may be stated — not under forty shillings per annum the smallest."

The heirs of Daniel Howell and Joseph Green claimed a right to the pews "built by their ancestors, without being liable to pay the annual assessment;" on this question the yeas and nays were called at two different meetings, and both times the claim was refused by the casting vote of the President. The salary accounts of the two churches were separate: "Ordered, that the Treasurer do pay the Rev. Mr. Spencer fifty-five shillings towards the deficiency of his salary for last year for Trenton, and fifteen shillings towards

the salary for the last year for the old meeting-house." There were "collectors" for each house.

On the sixth of June, 1781, it was resolved,

"To petition the Legislature to confirm by law the charter granted by Governor Belcher; a memorial was accordingly drawn and signed by the President and all the Trustees. The President being desired, readily agreed to wait on the Legislature, and took with him the original charter to lay before them."

On the twenty-fifth March, 1782,

"The President informed the Board that agreeably to the order of this Board, of the sixth of June, 1781, he waited on the Legislature, and took with him the original charter, which he has since returned to the Clerk, which was laid before the Board this day, and that the Legislature told him they did not think proper to take the same into their consideration at present."

I do not find any note of this application in the Journals of either branch of the Legislature. On the seventh June, 1781, an act incorporating the Second Presbyterian Church of Newark, which had passed the Assembly, was brought into the Council, and after a second reading, was postponed until the next sitting; immediately after which it

was "Ordered that Mr. Frelinghuysen and Mr. Caldwell be a committee to prepare and bring in a bill upon a general plan for incorporating religious societies." On the next day, a petition from the Baptist Church of Pittsgrove, Salem county, was read, "praying a law to incorporate them as well as all other religious societies," which was referred to yesterday's committee. The general law was not passed until March 16, 1786, when it was adopted under the title of "an act to incorporate certain persons as trustees in every religious society or congregation in this State, for transacting the temporal concerns thereof."

As the Treasurer was directed in 1771 to fund and loan any sums that might come into his hands, it looks as if there were occasionally some receipts beyond the pew-rents, of which there was certainly no surplus for investment. Several small legacies were realized besides those already mentioned. By the will of Jethro Yard, proved February 16, 1761, seven pounds were left "to the Presbyterian Congregation of Trenton, to be paid to the overseers of the poor of said town." In 1780, John Howell, one of the executors of his brother Daniel, gave notice that

the testator had given twenty pounds for the use of the congregation.*

Dr. Spencer's name is usually found in connection with such patriotic demonstrations of his times as were consistent with his profession. When the surrender of Cornwallis was celebrated in Trenton, October 27, 1781, the Governor, Council, Assembly, and citizens, went in procession to the Presbyterian Church, where Dr. Spencer delivered a discourse. On the fifteenth April, 1783, similar ceremonies were observed upon the conclusion of peace with Great Britain. The Governor, Vice-President of the State, Members of the Legislature, Judges, and other public officers met at Williams's hotel; the Trustees, teachers, and students of the Academy joined them there, and proceeded to the Court-house, where the Governor's proclamation of the cessation of hostilities was read. At noon divine service was attended, when a discourse was deliv-

* Daniel Howell's will was proved in 1778; the legacy was payable in two years. He was brother of Hezekiah, John, Abigail, Eunice, (Phillips,) and Phebe, (Phillips.) His children were Rhoda, Sarah, and Elizabeth. A relative of his, David Howell, died in 1785, leaving three daughters—Prudence, Patience, Charity.

Jethro Yard, (as I gather from his will,) was a carpenter. He was a son of William Yard.

ered by Dr. Spencer. Public dinners followed at Witt's, Williams's and Cape's hotels. A few days afterwards, when the Governor (Livingston) was about to leave the capital for his residence at Elizabethtown, Dr. Spencer's name was at the head of a committee of citizens who presented him a valedictory address.*

Dr. Spencer preached at the opening of Presbytery at Freehold, October 21, 1783. He was present in that court for the last time, in Pennington, June 15, 1784, when he was appointed to preach at the ordination and installment of Mr. William Boyd, at Bedminster, on the nineteenth October. This proved to be within a few weeks of his decease, but his failure to take the part assigned to him was not owing to his final illness, for that was an inflammatory fever of a few days' continuance. He died December 27, 1784, in the full support of the Christian hope. His remains lie on the western side of the churchyard under a tomb inscribed as follows:

* Mr. Jefferson, in his Autobiography, says: "I left home on the sixteenth of October, [1783,] arrived at Trenton, *where Congress was sitting*, on the third of November, and took my seat on the fourth, on which day Congress adjourned, to meet at Annapolis on the twenty-sixth." This statement has been followed by his biographers, Tucker and Randall, but Congress was sitting at Princeton, not Trenton.

"Beneath this stone lies the body of the Rev. Elihu Spencer, D.D., Pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton, and one of the Trustees of the College of New-Jersey, who departed this life on the twenty-seventh of December, 1784, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

"Possessed of fine genius, of great vivacity, of eminent and active piety, his merits as a minister and as a man stand above the reach of flattery.

"Having long edified the Church by his talents and example, and finished his course with joy, he fell asleep full of faith, and waiting for the hope of all saints.

"Mrs. Joanna Spencer,

"Relict of the above, died November 1st, 1791, aged sixty-three years.

"From her many virtues she lived beloved and died lamented. The cheerful patience with which she bore a painful and tedious disease threw a lustre on the last scenes of her life, and evinces that with true piety death loses its terrors."

The late Dr. Miller declares that the eulogy of Spencer's epitaph is not exaggerated:

"His piety was ardent, his manners polished, attractive, and full of engaging vivacity; his public spirit and activity in doing good indefatigable, and his character as a preacher singularly prompt, popular, and impressive. To all this may be added that in the various relations of life he was peculiarly amiable, exemplary, and beloved."

The venerable father who wrote these sen-

tences was connected by marriage with Dr. Spencer's family; for the widow of Dr. Miller is the granddaughter of Dr. Spencer, by the marriage of the Hon. Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant to Margaret Spencer. The late Hon. John Sergeant, the Hon. Thomas Sergeant, and the late Elihu Spencer Sergeant, Esq., of Philadelphia, were children of the same marriage. Dr. Spencer's ancestors came from England to Massachusetts early in the seventeenth century. Of the five brothers who established the family there, one was a forefather of the late Chief-Justice Ambrose Spencer, of New-York; from another brother was descended, in the seventh generation, the late Rev. Ichabod Smith Spencer, D.D., of Brooklyn; and General Joseph Spencer, whose name often occurs in the Revolutionary history, was an elder brother of our pastor.

Dr. Spencer bequeathed to his five surviving daughters, and the children of a deceased one, three thousand acres of land in Saltash, Vermont, and to his son, John Eaton, one thousand acres in Woodstock, Vermont. There still remains in the possession of his descendants a lot of ground in the city of Trenton, which has in the lapse of time become more valuable than all the Vermont acres.

NOTES.

I.

Governor William Livingston resided three years in Trenton, and was, undoubtedly, a regular attendant on Dr. Spencer's ministry. His previous life had brought him into prominence as an ecclesiastical controvertist. His ancestors were of the Dutch Church in New-York, but the Governor had early united with the party which, for the sake of having English preaching, had merged into the Presbyterians. The dispute, which arose in 1751, between the adherents of the Church of England and the other churches in reference, at first, to the claims of the former to have the College (then King's, now Columbia,) which was founded in that year, under their control, was warmly espoused by Mr. Livingston in defense of those who were threatened with exclusion. He wrote largely and vehemently for his side in "The Independent Reflector" and "The Watch-tower." He entered into the subsequent controversy on the attempt to establish the English episcopacy in America, and in 1768 published a letter to the Bishop of Llandaff, which was reprinted in London. His opposition, it should be noted, was not to the liberty of any church, but to the proposal to establish a particular denomination in the Colonies, as in England. Mr. Livingston must have departed from his habits in those days, if he were not punctual in his pew at Trenton; for, according to his biographer:

"Actively engaged during the week, in discharging the duties of a laborious profession, [the law,] or in an angry

warfare in defense of his civil and religious rights, three times on every Sabbath, surrounded by his numerous family, he went up to that church, [Wall Street,] formerly contemned and oppressed, but for which his exertions had procured respect; of which he was one of the brightest ornaments and chief supports."*

In his first address to the Legislature, as Governor, (September 13, 1776,) Mr. Livingston had used the expression, "setting our faces *like a flint* against that dissoluteness of manners and political corruption which will ever be the reproach of any people." From this phrase and the religious tone of the whole passage, the Governor was for some time nicknamed "Doctor Flint." This gave rise to an amusing *contretemps* at a dinner-table in New-York, when Fisher Ames, addressing Livingston, said unconsciously: "*Doctor Flint*, is the town of Trenton well or ill-disposed to the new Constitution?"†

II.

In December, 1783, died David Cowell, M.D., who has been mentioned in a previous chapter as a student in Princeton College at the time of the death of his uncle, the pastor, who bequeathed him an annuity of twenty pounds for three years. Upon his graduation, in 1763, he studied medicine in Philadelphia, took his degree and came to Trenton, where he practised until his death. For two years he was senior physician and surgeon in military hospitals. Dr. Cowell undertook to draft an outline of his will while suffering under an attack of quinsy, and

* Sedgwick's Memoir of Livingston, chap. iv.

† Sedgwick, chap. vii.

within a few hours of its fatal termination. Unable to articulate, he hastened to make a rough outline of his intentions, which he doubtless hoped to have had put into form by another hand; but he was compelled, by the force of the disease, to have the paper copied in the incomplete terms in which he had drawn it. It began: "I, Doctor David Cowell, being of sound judgment, but not able to talk much." One of the first items was, "my negro man, Adam, and the whole affair to the Presbyterian Congregation." In equally brief and informal phrases stood a hundred pounds to "the Grammar School in Trenton"—the same amount to the College of New-Jersey, and "to the Congress of the United States of America, one hundred pounds, if they settle themselves at Lamberton."* He appointed Major William Trent one of his executors, and made John Trent, probably a son of the Major, his residuary legatee. As he drew towards the close of his painful task he throws in the hurried remark: "Had not I been on many public matters, it's likely I should had a more particular will before this time." By the time the copy was ready for his signature, he must have felt unable to write, for it was subscribed by his "mark." But having the pen in hand, he seems to have made a last effort, and having made the customary cross between his Christian and surname, scribbled the incoherent or illegible sentence: "But I believe I am not quite so clear to me as my own D. C. our connection is

* I hope to find room in an Appendix to this volume, for a notice, somewhat in detail, of the proceedings of Congress that had reference to making Trenton or its vicinity the national capital.

now dissolved." Ebenezer Cowell, Jr., entered a caveat against the probate of the will, but after taking evidence, the Surrogate admitted it. The documents of the Trustees do not discover whether the legacy of the negro became available. "The whole affair" appended to it was probably a law-point; for in the *New-Jersey Gazette* of 1780, there are inserted, first, an advertisement by Dr. Cowell, of a negro man to be sold, or exchanged for a boy; and immediately under it, another, cautioning all persons against making any such purchase or exchange, as the man was entitled to his freedom, and ending with an expression of his hope for

"That freedom, justice, and protection which I am entitled to by the laws of the State, although I am a negro.

"ADAM."

These missives are followed by the Doctor, with a denial of Adam's averment; and this by a rejoinder in Adam's name, which in turn is answered by Cowell, who alleges that the negro is acting under the instigation of two very respectable citizens, whom he names.

The *New-Jersey Gazette* of the week announces Dr. Cowell's death as having taken place early in the morning of December 18, 1783, and his burial on the following day, in the Presbyterian church-yard, attended by the "Trustees, tutors, and students of the Academy in procession, and a very large concourse of respectable inhabitants." An address was made at the grave by the Rev. Dr. Spencer. After mentioning the legacy to the Government, the *Gazette* adds: "The above is the first legacy we recollect to have been given to the United States, and is respect-

able for a person of moderate fortune." In the same paper Dr. John Cowell advertises that he has been prevailed upon by the friends of his deceased brother to establish himself in Trenton as a physician. But he had a short time, as his gravestone marks his death "January 30, 1789, in the thirtieth year of his age."

Chapter Fifteenth.

The Rev. James Francis Armstrong—Previous History and Settlement.

1750—1790.

Dr. Spencer's successor in the Trenton churches was the Rev. James Francis Armstrong, and the history of his pastorate will be introduced by a sketch of his previous life.

Mr. Armstrong was born in West-Nottingham, Maryland, April 3, 1750. His father, Francis Armstrong, was an elder of the church in that place. Part of his education was received at Pequea, but his chief training was at the celebrated school founded by the Rev. Samuel Blair, at Fagg's Manor, or New-Londonderry, Chester county, Pennsylvania, where President Davies, Dr. Rodgers, and Dr. Finley had preceded him as pupils. When Mr. Armstrong was in the school it was under the Rev. John Blair, a younger brother of its founder, afterwards chosen

as Vice-President and Professor of Theology in Princeton College.

In the autumn of 1771, Armstrong entered the junior class at Princeton, and had the advantage of residing in the family of President Witherspoon. Several of his classmates are now known from the public stations they were called to fill; such as Governor Henry Lee of Virginia, Governor Morgan Lewis of New-York, Governor Aaron Ogden of New-Jersey, President Dunlap of Jefferson College, President Macknight of Dickinson, President John Blair Smith of Hampden Sidney and Union, and President William Graham of Liberty Hall, (Washington College,) Virginia. Aaron Burr, the unworthy son of the Princeton President, was one of his contemporaries in College. Of the twenty-nine graduates of Mr. Armstrong's class, all but three became clergymen. He himself had the ministry in view when he entered college, and accordingly, upon his graduation in the autumn of 1773, he commenced a theological course under Dr. Witherspoon. On the sixth June, 1776, he was recognized by the Presbytery of New-Brunswick as a candidate for the ministry. It was not easy at that period of American history for Presbyteries to assemble in

full number, and the only members present at this meeting, which was held in Princeton, were President Witherspoon, Rev. William Tennent, Rev. Elihu Spencer, and Mr. Baldwin, an elder of the Princeton Church. The subject assigned for Mr. Armstrong's exegesis was, "*De veritate Christianæ religionis*," and 1 Timothy 1 : 15 the text for a sermon. On the first of the following August, at Amwell, those exercises were heard and sustained. His trials were continued at Baskingridge in October, when he passed the examination on scholarship and theology, and was directed to prepare a sermon on Romans 12 : 2, to be delivered at the next meeting, which was appointed to be held in Shrewsbury, in December.* But great events happened between the

* A candidate who had been examined with Mr. Armstrong, up to this point, was not so successful; and for the sake of illustrating the proper care of a Presbytery in the matter of licensure, and the manner in which it is performed, I copy the minute in this case:

"The Presbytery then proceeded to consider Mr. W.'s examination and sermon; and after the most mature deliberation are unanimously of opinion that they can not sustain either his examination or his sermon as parts of trial, inasmuch as in his examination, although he manifested a competent skill in the languages, yet he appeared almost wholly unacquainted with several of the most important of the liberal arts and sciences, and also greatly deficient in his knowledge of divinity; and although his sermon contained some just and pious sentiments, yet there appeared in it such confusion in the arrangement of the thoughts, such obscurity in

June and the December of 1776. According to the minutes, the "appointment could not be fulfilled, as the enemy were on their march through this State." Another minute of the same session (April 23, 1777) postpones the prosecution of a plan for the education of poor and pious youth, on account of "the great difficulties of the times, arising from the ravages of the British army within our bounds." In consequence of this confusion, the regularity of Mr. Armstrong's progress as a candidate was interrupted, and acting upon the best advice, he was transferred to an-

expression, and inaccuracy in many of the sentiments, that they can not consider it as an evidence of his capacity to be useful as a public teacher in the Church of Christ.

"Therefore the Presbytery agreed to recommend to Mr. W., if he choose to prosecute his trials further with a view to the Gospel ministry, that he apply himself diligently to the study of logic, natural and moral philosophy, and divinity, for one year from this time, as in these branches he appeared to be most deficient; also that he study composition with care, and labor to acquire a more clear and perspicuous method of communicating his ideas. And as they entertain a favorable opinion of Mr. W., for his modest, decent, and humble deportment, will always be ready to give him all due encouragement, provided he make such improvement in the above articles as shall remove the difficulties that now lie in the way of their admitting him into the ministry."

The candidate probably withdrew from this Presbytery; but he must have found some way to licensure, as in 1784 the Presbytery of Newcastle began to call him to account for neglecting to preach, and in 1785 dropped him as their probationer, on evidence that he had devoted himself to a secular life.

other Presbytery, in the manner stated as follows:

"The Presbytery [of New-Brunswick] is informed by one of the members present, that in November last, about the time that the British army made an irruption into New-Jersey, Dr. Witherspoon gave Mr. Armstrong a letter of introduction to the Presbytery of Newcastle, informing them of the progress he had made in his trials, and of the difficulties in the way of the Presbytery's meeting to receive his popular sermon in December last, according to appointment; in consequence of which letter the Presbytery of Newcastle admitted him to finish his trials before them, and licensed him to preach as a candidate for the Gospel ministry."

He received his license as a probationer in January, 1777.

Even before that date (which was the month of the battle of Princeton) the war had approached so near the region of his residence, that Mr. Armstrong thought it to be his duty to unite with its armed defenders, and took a musket in a company of volunteers commanded by Peter Gordon, Esq., afterwards an elder with him in the session of the Trenton Church. This was, probably, only for an emergency; but he felt that his patriotic ardor could be indulged in a better consistency with his duties as a Christian minis-

ter, by serving as a chaplain in the American army. With that view the Newcastle Presbytery admitted him to ordination in January, 1778. When this was reported to the Synod in May, the higher court hesitated about approving an ordination which appeared to be *sine titulo*, that is, before his being called to some particular charge. The misapprehension arose from the absence of the official records; upon the production of which, in May, 1779, (when Mr. Armstrong took his seat,) the Synod made this minute:

"By the report now made by the Newcastle Presbytery, it appears that there was a mistake in the report of last year respecting Mr. Armstrong's ordination; that he was not ordained *sine titulo*, but in consequence of his having accepted a chaplaincy in the army."*

* "Sine titulo," "in retentis," "pro re nata," "sederunt," "non liquet," "nemine contradicente," "ad futuram rei memoriam," "interloquitur," "pro tanto," "in defenso," "in hœc verba," "de novo," and other Latin substitutes for plain English, (sometimes even "Janitor" for Sexton,) are freely used in the ecclesiastical records of the last century. The old Presbyteries and Synods used to date their sessions in Latin: "*Die Jovis*," "*Die Saturni*," "*Post Merid. Sessione 5ta. Precibus peractis.*" They habitually employed the learned tongue to say that after prayer the members named took their seats. Some of the New-Brunswick clerks ventured on writing "present after prayer," and "present as before," but in April, 1798, this innovation was checked by the following direction: "Resolved, that the Presbytery in future, for

The Newcastle records, as furnished me by their obliging clerk, the Rev. Mr. Dubois, are as follows:

"December 2, 1777, Mr. James Armstrong, a probationer of this Presbytery, being chosen chaplain for General Sullivan's brigade or division, applied for ordination to the work of the Gospel ministry, having produced a certificate of his moral conduct from General Sullivan. The Presbytery, after examining Mr. Armstrong at some length upon experimental and systematic divinity, were satisfied with his answers, and having had a good report of his labors, appointed Mr. Armstrong to deliver a discourse at our next meeting, with a view to his ordination."

The ordination took place at Pequea, the place of his early education, January 14, 1778, and the official record of it gives these particulars:

the sake of greater uniformity, make use of the old technical terms *ubi post preces sederunt*, in recording the first session of their meetings, and at any subsequent session, *post preces sederunt qui supra*." It was, however, considered lawful to give only the initials of the formula, and many a clerk spent more time and room in an elaborate execution of the capitals U. P. P. S. and U. P. P. S. Q. S., than would have answered for the words in full. The act of the Presbytery was, perhaps, a testimony against the course adopted by the Synod of 1795, when it "Resolved, that the Synod will discontinue the use of Latin terms in their records to express the opening of their session, and their attendance on prayer, and that the same in future be expressed in English."

"Mr. Armstrong having accepted the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, as received in our Church, as the confession of his faith, and the Directory for Discipline, Worship, and Government as the plan for substance constituted by Christ; and given satisfactory answers respecting his views in entering upon the Gospel ministry, and to other questions, the Presbytery conclude that we have clearness to set him apart to the work of the ministry. And, accordingly, after a sermon preached, suitable to the occasion, by the Rev. Mr. Robert Smith, he was solemnly set apart to the Gospel ministry, with fasting, prayer, and imposition of hands. The charge was given by the Rev. Mr. Foster, and Mr. Armstrong now becomes a member of Presbytery, and having received the right-hand of fellowship, takes his seat."

In consequence of the unsettled life into which he was thrown by the duties of the chaplaincy, and by other incidents of the state of the country, it was not in Mr. Armstrong's power to maintain the punctual correspondence with his Presbytery, required of all its members. In 1784 official inquiry was made of him on this account, and his reasons were received as satisfactory. He retained his connection with the Newcastle Presbytery until his dismission to that of New-Brunswick, April 26, 1786.

The minute of his appointment appears in the Journal of Congress, of July 17, 1778:

"In consequence of a recommendation, resolved, that the Rev. James Francis Armstrong be appointed chaplain of the Second Brigade of Maryland forces."

Before receiving his commission he had accompanied the troops on the Southern campaign, and probably remained in the service until the decisive victory of Yorktown, October, 1781. During this period Mr. Armstrong communicated to the New-Jersey delegates in Congress his observations of current events, and from a few of those addressed to the Hon. Wm. Churchill Houston, I introduce some passages, showing at once a glowing and intelligent interest in the cause of his country, and a strong abhorrence of the evils of the most justifiable war.

"*Wilcock's Iron Works*, *Deep River*, *North-Carolina*, July 8, 1780. We have marched five hundred miles from Philadelphia, ignorant as the Hottentot of the situation or numbers of the enemy. Though it was long known that we were marching to the assistance of the South, not the least provision was made to hasten or encourage our march. Wagons to transport the baggage, and provisions to subsist the troops, have both been wanting. We have for some time depended upon the precarious and cruel practice of impressing horses from post to post. We have also been driven to the disagreeable alternative of permitting the men to murmur and languish for the

want of meat, or seizing cattle on the march; not knowing whose property they were unless the owners came to camp to complain of the injury. Horrid war! Heaven's greatest curse to mankind! We are told things will grow better, the further we proceed south; but the hope must be precariously founded which depends upon the complaisance of Gen. Lord Cornwallis. I would not write such plain truths, did you not know that I am not given to despondency; and I have the same providence to call forth my hopes, which exerted itself so miraculously when Howe was in New-Jersey."

"*River Peedee, Masque's Ferry*, August 3, 1780. What the troops, officers, as well as privates have suffered is beyond description. The corporal of Gen. Gift's guard has returned for the second time to-day from the commissary's without being able to draw any provisions, and declares to me that for seven days they have only drawn two days' beef, but not a particle of meal or flour. The eye of the most rigid justice must wink at plunder in such circumstances; and such is the scarcity which reigns upon the Peedee, that provisions can not be obtained even by unjustifiable methods. Apples have been the only support of the troops for several days at a time. Indeed I thought it impossible for human nature to have subsisted so long as I have known it to do upon green fruit. Fortunately green corn has succeeded apples, but, without some less precarious and more substantial supplies, the effect must be dreadful. The hopes of final success never forsake me for a moment, but every thing discouraging dwells around our little army. We have not much, I believe, to fear from the enemy, but troops must be more or less than men who can long endure what we now suffer."

He wrote as follows of the panic then prevailing in the Southern States, and the injury done to the American cause by the conduct of the militia:

"The march of Howe through Jersey spread not half the terror which has been inspired by our defeats at the South. Those who escaped spread universal terror. All was conquered, ruined, undone! Even the dominion of Virginia must fall! And, by the by, had Clinton entered it with his army, they must have made a temporary submission, at least until our army could have marched to their assistance. We scarcely meet a man who has not taken the oath of allegiance to his majesty of Britain, or given his parole that he would be neuter, and give himself up a prisoner when called upon. The common people of the Carolinas are not to blame. Looking upon every thing as lost, what could they do? The appearance of an army with lenity would, in a short time, have called all such to the American standard, were they not prevented by the militia, who take them prisoners, use them unmercifully, plunder and destroy their effects, and leave their helpless women and children in the utmost distress; so that many of them have left their families and carried off their negroes and cattle, some to the enemy and some to escape the route of our army. We have passed whole neighborhoods deserted by the inhabitants, and the few who remain trembling alive from the horrid accounts which have been spread of our army as a number of banditti, plundering all before them, and hanging forty or

fifty at a time of those who had taken the oath to the King: though false, very laughable."

A letter dated at Hillsborough, the headquarters of the army, October 16, 1780, is resumed after a few lines, on the thirty-first of the same month. The explanation of the interval fixes the beginning of the disorder which afflicted Mr. Armstrong during the remainder of his life:

"The blank between the dates has been filled up with the most violent pains through my bones. To what species they belong, I can find no one wise enough to inform me. They have at times been so violent, that insensibility by the use of opium has been my only resource for rest. They seem to be pretty well removed, but an attempt to ride on horseback has once or twice brought them back again, which makes me unwilling to renew the experiment until their light flying parties completely take themselves off."

"I am highly delighted," he remarks to his correspondent, "with your sentiments on universal liberty. They have long been mine. I was instructed in them before I could reason."

The last letter of the campaign which is extant, is dated at Charlotte, December 8, 1780, when Gen. Greene had just taken the chief command. In it he says:

"There is not a single department of our army which has, for some time past, maintained the least regularity, unless we are permitted to call it regular confusion. Think then what must be the situation of our present Commander in Chief, with few regulars, and those in such circumstances as often to stagger my faith whether desertion be a crime, especially in a person of no more refined sentiments than a soldier of the common level, and with militia whose conduct has been one cause of our common disasters. The want of provision, which lays the foundation for the distressing necessity of permitting the troops often to cater for themselves, has prostrated every idea of discipline, and given the reins to the most licentious conduct. An unremitting supply of food alone can restrain, and in time correct our dangerous manners. Gen. Greene has already taken measures which promise every thing. The heads of the Roanoke, Dan, Catawba, and the Rocky river, which have hitherto been considered as useless in the creation, are to transport our provisions from Virginia."

"I have made an observation since I came South which I did not advert to before. The inhabitants of a State necessary for its defense in time of war, or even on a sudden invasion, must treble or quadruple the number immediately necessary for the field. Without establishing this proportion, when those necessary to cultivate the land, the timorous, the disaffected, and delinquents of all orders, whom it is out of the power of government to bring to the field, are laid aside, no country can defend itself. This appears to me to be the condition of Virginia and North-Carolina, unless the blacks are called in to their

assistance. I really pity the gentlemen of Virginia, of enlarged and liberal minds. They are as good theoretic politicians as any on the continent; but when they meet in Assembly and make the best laws in the world for the defense of a State, there are not white subjects sufficient in the State for the laws to operate upon."*

We find Mr. Armstrong returned to New-Jersey in 1782, as in the June of that year he

* William Churchill Houston, Mr. Armstrong's correspondent, and afterwards a parishioner in Trenton, was a native of South-Carolina. After the age of twenty-one he entered Princeton College as a Freshman: while himself a student he assisted in teaching the Grammar-School. He graduated 1768. In 1769, being then Master of the School, he was elected Senior Tutor of College, and in 1771, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. He resigned the chair 1783, at which time he was also Treasurer of the Trustees. Two years before his resignation he had been, after the requisite course of study, admitted to the bar. He removed to Trenton, and had a large practice, notwithstanding his rigid adherence to the determination that he would never undertake a cause which he did not believe to be just. Mr. Houston held several public offices, such as Receiver of Continental taxes, (1782–5,) and Clerk of the Supreme Court, (1781–8.) He was five times (first in 1779) elected to the Congresses of the Confederation. He was one of the three delegates of New-Jersey to the body of Commissioners which met at Annapolis, (1786,) which resulted in suggesting the Convention which formed the Constitution. He was appointed a member of that Convention, but declining health seems to have prevented his attendance. In 1788 he left Trenton to try the benefit of his native climate, but before he reached Philadelphia illness compelled him to stop, and he died at an inn in the village of Frankford. His body was taken for burial to the ground of the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. For most of these particulars I am indebted to a notice communicated by my friend, William C. Alexander, Esq., to the *New-York Observer* of March 18, 1858.

began to supply the church of Elizabethtown, made vacant by the assassination of the Rev. James Caldwell. In the month of August he was married, by Dr. Witherspoon, to Susannah Livingston, a daughter of Robert James Livingston, whose widow, Mrs. Armstrong's mother, was residing at Princeton for the education of her sons, three of whom, William Smith, Peter R., and Maturin, graduated at that College. Mr. Armstrong's service at Elizabethtown was terminated in 1783, by an illness which required him to suspend his labors.

Upon Dr. Spencer's death in Trenton, in December 1784, Mr. Armstrong preached his funeral sermon, and afterwards frequently supplied the vacant pulpit. At a meeting of the *Trustees*, October 17, 1785, they "agreed to present a call to the Presbytery at Pennington, to-morrow for the Rev. Mr. Armstrong to settle in this congregation, and appointed Mr. Benjamin Smith [one of the elders] to present the call to the Presbytery." It is probable that there had been a previous election by the congregation, at which the Trustees were empowered to take the regular steps for effecting the call. The minutes of the meeting at Pennington were never recorded.

When the Presbytery met in Trenton,* April 25, 1786, Mr. Armstrong being present as a corresponding member, it is recorded:

"On the call offered to the Rev. Mr. Armstrong at the last meeting of Presbytery, Mr. A. informed the Presbytery that several steps have been taken towards obtaining his dismission from the Presbytery of Newcastle, and preparing the way for his settlement in the congregation of Trenton; and that he hoped soon to give his final answer."

On the day he made this statement the Newcastle Presbytery complied with his request, and on the seventeenth October, his name appears among the members of the New-Brunswick Presbytery, without any preceding record of his formal reception. The question of the call being up:

"Mr. Armstrong being not yet prepared to accept this call from the congregation of Trenton, requested longer time to consider the matter, which was granted."

The impediment seems to have been indefiniteness as to the salary. Mr. Armstrong was, how-

* For several years the Presbytery met at New-Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton in rotation. The efforts to repeal the rule were not successful until April, 1801.

ever, considered so far committed to the congregation that as early as February 14, 1786, his name appears in their minutes as present as "the minister," who, according to the charter, was united with "the elders and deacons" in the election of Trustees.* It was not until April 26, 1787, that,

"The congregation of Trenton having informed Presbytery of the sum annexed to their call, presented to Mr. Armstrong some time ago, and having given written obligation for his support, Mr. Armstrong accepted of their call."

There is no record of the installation.

From the earliest date of his residence here, the church was open for the commemoration of the national anniversary, and other acknowledgments of the divine providence in public affairs. In the *Gazette* of July, 1786, it is published that on the fourth instant the inhabitants at eleven o'clock attended the Presbyterian Church, where they heard "an animated address by the Rev. Mr. Armstrong; after which they met at the

* The business meetings were not always held in sacred places. This one was "at the house of Francis Witt, in Trenton." At the next stated meeting of the Trustees, "the weather being severe, they adjourned to the house of Francis Witt, inn-keeper." At other times the place was "the house of Henry Drake, inn-keeper."

house of Mr. Drake, partook of a cold collation, and retired to their several employments."

In August, 1786, a subscription of one hundred pounds was directed to be undertaken for the repairing of the parsonage for the new pastor.* Two thirds of the sum were assessed on the town church, and the other third on the country church, and in this proportion the two divisions of the congregation were to receive the Sabbath services of their minister. The salary was two hundred pounds, payable in the same ratio. In April, 1787, "the old house congregation" informed the Board of Trustees that they could not raise their third of the salary for only a third of the pastor's time; whereupon the town congregation offered to pay one hundred and fifty pounds salary, and have the exclusive services of the minister. In the following October a motion was made in the Board,

"By Mr. William Burroughs, Mr. John Howell, and Mr. Ebenezer Rose, for a separation; and that we join with the country part to give up the present charter, and endeavor to get each a separate charter, and divide the property belonging to the present congregation; which was postponed for further consideration."

* The actual cost exceeded the estimate by seventy-five pounds.

When the Board met, March 12, 1788,

"The gentlemen of the country part of the congregation agree to give their answer on Wednesday next, the nineteenth instant, what they can and will do with the town part."

On that day, it being reported to the Board that "fifty pounds can not be raised in the country part of the congregation belonging to the Old House," a new modification was suggested, namely, that "the congregation of Trenton" should pay the pastor one hundred dollars yearly for one half of his time, and consent "that he may dispose of the other half between Maidenhead and the Old House, as he and they may agree."

By an Act of March 16, 1786, the Legislature of New-Jersey changed the law of corporations (which had hitherto required a special application for each new charter) so that any Christian society, numbering at least thirty families, upon the election of trustees, and their qualification by oath, and the filing of a certificate to that effect with the County Clerk, should, by that process, be admitted to be fully incorporated. The town part

of the Trenton congregation soon took advantage of this provision to obtain a charter to supersede that of George II.; and for which they had ineffectually applied to the Legislature of 1781, through Dr. Spencer. The congregation met May 4, 1788; "having previously agreed to admit and receive the inhabitants of Lamberton, and those between that and Trenton, who may at any time join said congregation, as entitled to all the rights and privileges of their Act of Incorporation;" and elected as their Trustees, Alexander Chambers, Samuel Tucker, Abraham Hunt, Moore Furman, Isaac Smith, Bernard Hanlon, and Hugh Runyon. The corporate title assumed was, "The Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Trenton." The device adopted for the seal (1790) was an open Bible with a burning lamp suspended over it, and the motto, "Light to my path." Around the edge is, "Presbyterian Church of Trenton."

In September, 1788, "the Board of Trustees from the country," met with the town Board, for the purpose of an equitable division of the bonds and other securities of the old corporation; and in April, 1790, the town church bought the

third of the parsonage of their late co-partners, for one hundred pounds.*

On the twenty-third April, 1790, the congregation were called together in reference to a proposal from the Maidenhead church; the result of which is seen in the proceedings of the Presbytery of the twenty-eighth April:

"A call from the congregation of Maidenhead, in due form, signed by their Trustees, stipulating the payment of one hundred pounds in gold or silver, in half-yearly payments, for half of the ministerial labors of the Rev James F. Armstrong, accompanied with a certificate from the congregation of Trenton, of their willingness that he should accept of it, was laid before Presbytery, and the Presbytery having presented the said call to Mr. Armstrong, he declared his acceptance thereof."

This arrangement continued until 1806; the pastor residing in Trenton and giving his attendance on the Lord's day alternately at the two

* The parsonage deeds may be found in Book AT. 103, 106. The Trustees of "the First Presbyterian Church of Trenton," which was the title taken by the country church upon the separation, were Daniel Scudder, John Howell, Ebenezer Rose, Timothy Howell, William Green, James Burroughs, and Benjamin Johnston. Mr. Kirkpatrick was probably the first occupant of the parsonage. In 1768–70, "Mrs. Sarah Trent" was credited for the rent. The Rev. Dr. How (1816–21) was the last of the pastors who resided in it before it was sold.

churches. In assenting to the plan, the Trenont people stipulated for "the privilege of presenting a call at some future time to Mr. Armstrong for the whole of his labor, if Providence should continue him in this part of his vineyard."

NOTE.

In August, 1785, the *Trenton Gazette* announced the death of "EBENEZER ERSKINE, nephew to the late Robert Erskine." He died "at the seat of Robert Lettis Hooper, near Trenton, and was interred in the Presbyterian ground." In his will, made in his last illness, he describes himself as "late of the city of Glasgow, in Scotland." "Being weak in his hand, he had not strength to write his Christian name," but after a legacy to a poor boy at the Iron Works in Newfoundland, Morris county, he bequeathed his property to his sister, Nancy Erskine, of Edinburgh. Mr. Hooper and Samuel W. Stockton were his executors.

The will of the uncle, Robert Erskine, is somewhat of an autobiography. It was made in New-York, Ringwood, and Philadelphia in 1776–9, and proved at Gloucester, N. J., November 21, 1780. It begins: "I, Robert Erskine, son of the Rev. Ralph Erskine, author of the Gospel Sonnets, etc., by the providence of God at present in America for the purpose of directing, conducting, and taking charge of several Iron Works, and other lands and property belonging to gentlemen in England, who style

themselves the Proprietors of the New-York and New-Jersey Iron Works." It further transpires through his will, that the testator, having sunk his patrimony in his London trade, became a surveyor and engineer, and was the author of several inventions, especially of a centrifugal engine, of the success of which he was so sanguine as to leave detailed directions how his widow should share the profits with his old creditors. Mr. Hooper was connected with these Iron Works. Advertisements in 1782–3, signed by him, in behalf of "the American Ringwood Company," in Bergen county, refer to Ebenezer Erskine as on the premises at Ringwood, and to Robert Erskine as "the late agent for said Company."

In the *Trenton Gazette* of October 18, 1780, is this notice: "Died the second instant, at his house at Ringwood, Robert Erskine, F.R.S., and Geographer to the Army of the United States, in the forty-sixth year of his age." Some of the military maps in Mr. Irving's Life of Washington give credit for their origin to Mr. Erskine's manuscripts, which are now in the possession of the New-York Historical Society.

The memoir prefixed to the two great folios of the Glasgow edition (1764) of the Rev. Ralph Erskine's Works, opens thus: "The Rev. Mr. Henry Erskine, the author's father, was amongst the younger of the *thirty-three* children of Ralph Erskine, of Shielfield." The celebrated sonnetteer had three sons in the ministry: "his only son now in life is Robert, a merchant in London," who died in New-Jersey, as stated above. Lord Campbell, (himself a son of the celebrated Presbyterian divine, Dr. George Campbell, of Aberdeen,) in his Life of Lord

Chancellor Erskine, says: "The Earl's [Buchan, the Chancellor's father] great-grandfather had suffered in the Covenanting cause in the preceding century; and those pious men, Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, who had recently seceded from the establishment, and whose sentiments have been adopted and acted upon by the Free Church of Scotland, were his 'far-away cousins.'" (*Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, chap. clxxvi.)

Chapter Sixteenth.

The General Assembly—New Constitution of the Church—Notes.

1785—1790.

Mr. Armstrong was active, both in Synod and Presbytery, in the measures which resulted in the formation of the General Assembly.

In the year 1785 the Synod of New-York and Philadelphia was the Supreme Judicatory or Court of our whole Church in the United States. It comprised fourteen Presbyteries; namely, Suffolk, Dutchess, New-York, New-Brunswick, First Philadelphia, Second Philadelphia, Newcastle, Donegal, Lewes or Lewestown, Hanover, Abington, Orange, Redstone, and South-Carolina. Every minister and one ruling elder from each session were then, as now, entitled to seats in the Synod; but the list shows how distant were the extremes of its bounds, and the roll of that year's session in the central city of Philadelphia, shows how this distance prevented a full

representation; for on the first day there were thirty ministers present and sixty-eight absent, not counting six entire Presbyteries without a single commissioner. There were only six elders; and during the session no more than twelve of both orders dropped in. The overture was therefore timely which was then presented, proposing a division of the existing Synod into several, and the formation of a new delegated body, as a General Synod, Council, or Assembly, out of the whole. The subject being deferred until the session of 1786, a resolution was in that year passed in favor of the overture, and a committee appointed to report a plan of division. Their report recommended a new arrangement of the bounds of the Presbyteries and the formation of four Synods, to be subordinate to a General Assembly. The proposed alterations in the Presbyteries were adopted, and the remaining suggestions postponed for another year. At the same session a committee was raised to digest a system of government and discipline, which was to be printed and distributed among the Presbyteries for their opinion. This pamphlet was introduced into the New-Brunswick Presbytery April 25, 1787, when it was referred for examina-

tion to Dr. Witherspoon and Mr. Armstrong, together with James Ewing, Esq., an elder of the Trenton Church, and Mr. Longstreet, an elder of the Princeton Church, to report in the next month; but the elders not attending the committee, the clerical members did not offer any report. On the seventeenth May, 1787, the committee of Synod reported the draught of the government and discipline, and it was daily discussed by paragraphs until the twenty-eighth, when a thousand copies of the work, as amended, were ordered to be distributed before final action. The same committee were directed to revise the Westminster "Directory for Public Worship," and add it to the printed volume to be submitted to the judgment of the churches.

The last meeting held by the Synod of New-York and Philadelphia was opened in Philadelphia, May 21, 1788. Mr. Armstrong was Clerk, and was one of a committee to select and publish the most important proceedings of the two closing sessions of the Synod, with certain statistics of the churches. On the twenty-third the draught of the new system came up for consideration, and on the twenty-sixth it was completed. On the twenty-eighth it was ratified and adopt-

ed as "the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in America." A correct copy was ordered to be printed, together with the "Westminster Confession of Faith, as making a part of the Constitution."

The Synod proceeded to consider the draught of the "Directory for the Worship of God," contained, like the basis of the parts already adopted, in the standard books of the Church of Scotland, and after revision this was adopted. The Westminster Larger and Shorter Catechisms were then sanctioned as they stood, excepting a slight amendment of the former on a point referring to civil government, and were ordered to be inserted in the same volume with the confession, form of government, and discipline—the whole to be considered "as the standard of our doctrine, government, discipline, and worship."

Dr. Duffield, Mr. Armstrong, and Mr. Ashbel Green* were made the committee to superintend the publication of the whole work. Mr. Arm-

* This name has become so venerable and familiar that it strikes one with surprise to find that in the sermon preached by Provost Ewing at his ordination and installment, (May 15, 1787,) it is given both on the title page and in the resolution of the corporation of the Second Church calling for its publication, as *Ashbald* Green.

strong was also associated at this time with Dr. Witherspoon, Dr. S. S. Smith, and others on a delegation to the convention, with corresponding delegates from the Synods of the Associate Reformed and the Reformed Dutch Churches, which had been already holding several conferences with a view to some systematic intercourse of those three Presbyterian bodies.

On the twenty-ninth day of May the Synod was dissolved. It had then one hundred and seventy-seven ministers, eleven probationers, and four hundred and nineteen congregations. Fifteen ministers and twenty-six congregations were in the Presbytery of New-Brunswick.

By the new arrangement the Presbyteries of Dutchess, Suffolk, New-York, and New-Brunswick constituted the "Synod of New-York and New-Jersey." It held its first meeting in New-York, October 29, 1788, when Mr. Armstrong was one of the clerks. The Synod taking "into consideration the distressed state of the people of the Presbyterian denomination on the frontiers," resolved to send missionaries among them the next summer, and appointed Dr. Macwhorter and Mr. Armstrong to spend three months in this service. For satisfactory reasons the first

appointment was not carried into effect, but for several sessions an annual delegation of missionaries was made. In 1794 the Synod resolved to establish "a standing and continued mission on the frontiers of New-York," and Mr. Armstrong, who was the Moderator of that year, was by the house placed upon a committee to initiate it.*

The three other Synods into which the parent body was divided were named Philadelphia, Virginia, and the Carolinas. "The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," which was the style given to the chief judicatory, was required to be composed of delegates from each Presbytery, in proportion to their numbers. The first Assembly met in the Second Church (Arch Street) of Philadelphia, on "the third Thursday of May," (twenty-first,) 1789.

* The region of New-York around the Cayuga and Seneca lakes was named, sixty years since, "the north-western frontiers" of our Church. In 1798 Mr. George Scott, of the Presbytery of New-Brunswick, was sent to that region to "itinerate for at least five months as a missioner." The minutes of 1805 contain an interesting historical document in a "general report concerning those districts within the jurisdiction of the Synod of New-York and New-Jersey, which most particularly require the labors of missionaries and the distribution of pious tracts among the people."

The first ratio of representation in the General Assembly was one minister and one elder, where a Presbytery consisted of not more than six ministers; double the number where it consisted of more than six, but not more than twelve, and so on. New-Brunswick, consisting of fifteen ministers, was entitled to three commissioners of each order, and their first representatives in the Assembly were Dr. Witherspoon, Dr. S. S. Smith, and Mr. Armstrong, with elders John Bayard of New-Brunswick, John Carle of Baskingridge, and Nehemiah Dunham of Bethlehem.

Mr. Armstrong's associations with the Presidents Witherspoon and S. Stanhope Smith were those of neighbors and strong personal friends. The names of the three constantly occur on the same committees of the ecclesiastical bodies of which they were fellow-members. The ancient custom of making a formal acknowledgment of the civil authority was continued, for some time after the Republic was founded; and in 1790 the three friends were part of a delegation of Presbytery to present a congratulatory address to Governor Patterson on his accession. In 1799 Smith, Hunter, and Armstrong were appointed

to report on a recommendation from the superior judicatories favoring the formation of societies to aid the civil magistrate in the suppression of vice. The next year a majority of the committee reported adversely to the proposition, on the ground that the civil and religious institutions of our republic being totally separate, the best way left for ecclesiastical bodies and men to aid the laws is fidelity in pastoral duties and in strengthening moral and religious principles by the extension of religious knowledge. Mr. Armstrong entered his dissent, not from the principles of the report, but because he regarded it as contravening the recommendations of Synod and Assembly.

In the classical Academy which was founded by the "Trenton School Company" in 1781, Mr. Armstrong took an active interest. In 1786 he furnished the trustees with a draught of laws for the government of the schools. In June, 1787, he was engaged, on a salary, to take the general superintendence of the Academy, giving direction to the studies and discipline, attending in person as occasion required, and employing a master. This plan was relinquished in September, 1788, but resumed in March, 1789, and con-

tinued until his resignation in January, 1791. Upon his withdrawal the Trustees granted him the privilege of sending two of his children to the school; and in the newspaper of January 6, 1797, is printed an oration delivered at a late public examination of the Academy by his son, Robert Livingston Armstrong.

NOTES.

I.

"*The Trenton School Company*" originated in a meeting of citizens, held February 10, 1781. The original capital was seven hundred and twenty dollars, divided into thirty-six shares. Part of the lot still occupied by the Academy in Hanover (then Fourth) street was purchased, and a stone building erected, one story of which was occupied in 1782. The next year it was enlarged, and the endowment increased. In 1785 it was incorporated, and in 1794 its funds were aided by a lottery. In 1800 the girls' school of the Academy was removed to the schoolhouse belonging to the Presbyterian Church. The grammar-school attained a high reputation under a succession of able masters. The public quarterly examinations were usually closed with exercises in speaking in the church. The newspapers tell of the "crowded and polite audiences" which attended, usually including the Governor, Legislature, and distinguished strangers. Among the latter, in 1784, were the President of Congress, the Baron

Steuben, and members of the Congress and Legislature. A full history of the Academy down to 1847 may be found in ten successive numbers of the *State Gazette* of April and May of that year.

II.

One of the most useful and worthy citizens of Trenton in this part of its annals was Isaac Collins, a member of the Society of Friends, and an enterprising printer. He came from Burlington to Trenton in 1778, and resided here until his removal to New-York in 1786. His wife, Rachel Budd, was great-grandaughter of Mahlon Stacy, the original proprietor of the land. Mr. Collins was one of the active founders of the Academy, and although nine of his children were pupils, he would not take advantage of his right as a stockholder to have them instructed without further charge. It is a remarkable fact in the history of his family of fourteen children, that after the death of one in infancy, there was no mortality for the space of fifty years. His eldest daughter (still surviving, 1859) was the wife of Stephen Grellet, whose singular career as a convert from the faith of Rome and the position of body-guard of Louis XVI., to a devoted Quaker minister and missionary, has been commemorated in a printed discourse by Dr. Van Rensselaer. The first newspaper in this State, "the New-Jersey Gazette," was issued by Mr. Collins at Burlington, December 5, 1777. It was then transferred to Trenton, and published there from February 25, 1778, to November 27, 1786, (excepting a suspension of nearly five months in 1783,) when

it was discontinued. Mr. Collins was the conductor as well as proprietor of the paper. Indeed the title of editor had not then superseded that of "the printer."

Collins's paper was established to counteract the anti-republican tendency of Rivington's "Royal Gazette" in New-York. Governor Livingston was a correspondent of the Trenton Gazette as long as it remained in Collins's hands.*

The publication of the entire Bible was, at that period, so adventurous an undertaking for the American press that it was necessary to secure extraordinary encouragement in advance; and the first edition of the Scriptures, that of John Aitken, was recommended to the country by a resolution of Congress. This was on September 12, 1782, just five years after the report of a committee on a memorial had stated that to import types and print and bind thirty thousand copies would cost £10,272 10*s.*, and therefore recommended the importation of twenty thousand Bibles, which was adopted.

In 1788 Isaac Collins issued proposals to print a quarto edition of the Bible in nine hundred and eighty-four pages,

* Sedgwick's Life of Livingston, ch. vii. viii. The Legislature (Dec. 9, 1777,) exempted Mr. Collins "and any number of men, not exceeding four, to be employed by him at his printing office," from militia service during the time they were occupied in printing the laws or the weekly newspaper. The pacific but courageous printer vindicated the liberty of the press by refusing to give the name of a political correspondent (1779) on the demand of the Legislative Council. "In any other case, not incompatible with good conscience, or the welfare of my country, I shall think myself happy in having it in my power to oblige you." (*Selections from Correspondence of Executive, 1776–86 published by Legislature in* 1848, p. 199.)

at the price of "four Spanish dollars, one dollars to be paid at the time of subscribing." The Synod of New-York and New-Jersey (Nov. 3, 1788,) earnestly recommended the undertaking, and appointed Dr. Witherspoon, President S. S. Smith, and Mr. Armstrong, to concur with committees of any other denominations, or of our own Synods, to revise the sheets, and, if necessary, to assist in selecting a standard edition. This committee was authorized to agree with Mr. Collins to append Osterwald's Notes, if not inconsistent with the wishes of other than Calvinistic subscribers. In 1789 the General Assembly appointed a committee of sixteen (on which was Mr. Armstrong) to lay Mr. Collins's proposals before their respective Presbyteries, and to recommend that subscriptions be solicited in each congregation, and report the number to the next Assembly. The recommendation was reiterated in 1790 and in 1791.

Thus sustained, the quarto edition (five thousand copies) was published in 1791.* Osterwald's "Practical Observations," which added one hundred and seventy pages of matter, were furnished to special subscribers. Collins's Bible was so carefully revised that it is still a standard.

* The American historiographer of printing makes no mention of this edition, but speaks only of Collins's *octavo* New Testament of 1788, and Bible of 1793–4. (*Thomas's History*, ii. 124.) Collins printed in Trenton two thousand copies of Sewel's History of the Quakers, of nearly a thousand pages folio; Ramsay's South-Carolina, two volumes, and other large works.

In 1848 the surviving family of Mr. Collins printed for private use a memoir of their venerated parents, for the help of which I am indebted to my friend, Isaac Collins, of Philadelphia. See also *Blake's Biographical Dictionary*, 13*th edition*.

Himself and his children read all the proofs; and it is stated in the Preface of a subsequent edition, after mentioning the names of several clergymen who assisted the publisher in 1791, "some of these persons, James F. Armstrong in particular, being near the press, assisted also in reading and correcting the proof-sheets."

As an instance of the weight which the most incidental acts of the Assembly carried at that early period of its existence, I would allude to a letter to the Moderator of 1790 from the Rev. David Rice, often called the Presbyterian pioneer, or Apostle of Kentucky, in which he states that having received from Mr. Armstrong, as Clerk of the Assembly, a notification of the action in reference to the Collins Bible, he had procured the calling of a special meeting of the Transylvania Presbytery, "that we might be in a capacity to obey the order of the General Assembly." "Such is our dispersed situation," that it was some weeks before the meeting could convene. "After two days' deliberation on the subject," they found that a compliance was impracticable, and on Mr. Rice was devolved the office of explaining the cause of the delinquency. One of the difficulties was that of sending a messenger to Philadelphia in time for the Assembly, to carry the advanced subscription money; "the want of horses sufficient for so long a journey, or of other necessaries, laid an effectual bar in our way."*

There was a paper-mill in Trenton before the time of the publication of Collins's Bible. In December, 1788, it was advertised by its proprietors, Stacy Potts and John

* Green and Hazard MSS.

Reynolds, as "now nearly completed." The manufacturers issued earnest appeals for rags; in one of their publications, presenting "to the consideration of those mothers who have children going to school, the present great scarcity of that useful article, without which their going to school would avail them but little." In January, 1789, "the Federal Post, or the Trenton Weekly Mercury," printed by Quequelle and Wilson, was obliged to have its size reduced "on account of the scarcity of demy printing-paper."

Chapter Seventeenth.

Public Occasions in Trenton—Notes.

1789—1806.

The twenty-first of April, 1789, was a memorable day in the history of Trenton. On his journey from Mount Vernon to New-York, for the purpose of being inaugurated as the first President of the United States, General Washington rode through the town, and was received at the Assanpink bridge in the manner which has become too familiar to require repetition here.* In the procession of matrons who met the President, was the wife of Mr. Armstrong; and one of "the white-robed choir" who sang the ode was their daughter, afterwards the wife of Chief Justice Ewing. Washington's note

* Marshall's Life of Washington, vol v. ch. 3. Sparks's Writings of Washington, vol. xii. p. 150. Irving's Washington, vol. iv. chap. 37. Mr. Irving says of the incident at Trenton: "We question whether any of these testimonials of a nation's gratitude affected Washington more sensibly than those he received at Trenton."

acknowledging the compliment was first delivered to Mr. Armstrong, and read to a company of ladies at the house of Judge Smith. The autograph is now in possession of the family, who also preserve the relics of the arch or arbor under which the illustrious traveller was received.

It was formerly required that the names of all persons duly proposed as candidates for Congress, should be advertised by the authority of the Governor. In the list of 1792 is the name of Mr. Armstrong; but from what nomination or whether with his consent, I have no information.

On the seventeenth June, 1795, Mr. Armstrong preached in Baskingridge, at the ordination of Robert Finley and Holloway W. Hunt, when the former was installed minister of that congregation. In August of that year we find Mr. Armstrong taking a prominent part in a public meeting in reference to an expression of popular opinion on the recent treaty between the United States and Great Britain. There were, indeed, few objects of public interest, whether political or philanthropical, with which his name was not found connected. It even stands on the roll of the "Union Fire Company," (instituted

February 8, 1747,) which included the most respectable citizens among its working members. The few minutes that are extant (1785–94) show that the clergyman's membership was more than nominal.*

When the "Trenton Library Company" was founded, in May, 1797, Mr. Armstrong was immediately among its supporters and directors. The same interest was evinced by him in the "Christian Circulating Library," established by the excellent Daniel Fenton, in 1811.

The third General Assembly (1791) began to take measures, through the Presbyteries, for collecting materials for a history of our Church in North-America. The New-Brunswick Presbytery directed each of its pastors to furnish the history of his own parish, and assigned that of the vacant congregations to committees. Mr. Armstrong was appointed the collector for Amwell.

* "Ordered, that Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Singer, and Mr. Taylor work the large engine in time of fire, and that Conrad Kotts and Isaac Barnes work the small engine." "Ordered, that Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Taylor be a committee to have good trail ropes put to both engines, and a necessary harness for one horse for the large engine." The members being at one time required to give account whether they had done their duty, it is entered that "Mr. Armstrong, ladder-man No. 1, attended, and brought forward his ladder and hook to the late fire."

In 1792 Dr. Witherspoon and three others were appointed to write the history of the Presbytery; in April, 1793, (before the discovery of the old minutes,) Mr. Armstrong reported that, "either through inattention in the first ministers and congregations, or the loss of records during the war, no documents are to be found from which to furnish materials respecting the first formation of congregations, or the early settlement of ministers." The order, however, was renewed, and the historical committee continued. In 1801—

"The Presbyteries of New-Brunswick and Ohio reported that, agreeably to order, they had drawn up histories of their respective Presbyteries, which were produced and laid on the table."*

On the eleventh of May, 1794, Mr. Armstrong preached at the first opening of the new church at Flemington. In 1797 he was on the Assembly's delegation to the General Association of Connecticut, which met at Windham; and again in 1806 to the same body at Wethersfield.

The enthusiasm of the Revolutionary soldier

* I have looked in vain for the New-Brunswick history in the archives of the Assembly.

and chaplain was never wanting on the public occasions which appealed to it. The New-Jersey branch of the Society of the Cincinnati, of which Mr. Armstrong was a member, (and for a time Secretary,) usually made it a part of their celebration of the Fourth of July to hear the Declaration read at his Church, in connection with devotional services. On the anniversary of 1794, according to the *Gazette* of the week, that Society proceeded to the Church,

"where an elegant and well-adapted discourse was delivered by the Rev. James F. Armstrong, in which the citizen, the soldier, and his brethren of the Cincinnati were addressed in a strain truly animated and pathetic, as the friends of freedom, of government, and of neutrality."

A fast-day was observed, by appointment of President Adams, in May 1798, on account of the warlike aspect of our relations with the French Republic. The Trenton pastor appears to have aroused his audience on the occasion to a mode of response not common in our churches. According to the newspaper report, the sermon,

"while it deprecated the miseries of war, yet unequivocally showed that our existence and prosperity as a nation, depended, under God, on the union of our citizens,

and their full confidence in the measures adopted by our government; to which all the congregation, rising with him, said, AMEN!"

A few months later there was a still more vociferous demonstration in the same place. I take the account of it from "The Federalist and New-Jersey Gazette" of July 9, 1798:

"We should do injustice to the Rev. Mr. Armstrong, orator of the day, [Fourth of July,] were we to pass in silence the universal approbation with which was received his animated, patriotic, and elegant address, delivered before the Order of Cincinnati, and the most crowded audience we ever remember to have seen on any former occasion in this place. One circumstance demands our peculiar attention: the orator, in closing his address, observed in substance, that as in defense of the American Revolution they had pledged their honors, their lives and fortunes, to defend the American cause, it might be expected that the Government would again solicit their aid to preserve and defend her from tributary vassalage; and then called on his brethren of the Society again to join him in pledging their sacred honors, lives, and fortunes to defend the government and laws of their country. With animated firmness and glow of patriotism the orator then pronounced, '*I resolve to live and die free;*' to which the whole Society, as with one voice, made the response; and three animated cheers heightened the scene of sublimity and grandeur, far better to be conceived than expressed."

It appears from another column that the Cincinnati repeated the emphatic sentence after the orator, and that "the whole military and audience" joined in the cheers, and afterwards in singing the chorus of "Hail Columbia."

Two days after this celebration Mr. Armstrong, with Generals Dayton, Bloomfield, Beatty, and Giles, as a committee of the Cincinnati, presented to President Adams, in Philadelphia, an address appropriate to the politics of the day.*

In 1799 and several subsequent years Mr. Armstrong's health was so much impaired that he was obliged to ask for supplies for his two pulpits. There were intervals in which he was able to officiate, but during the remainder of his life he suffered severely from the rheumatic disorder contracted during his service in the camp, and he was frequently deprived of the free use of his limbs. Among those often appointed in these emergencies were President Smith, Dr. John Woodhull, Geo. Spafford Woodhull, Robert Fin-

* At that time, and for many years, the custom obtained in Trenton of adorning the windows and fronts of the houses on the Fourth of July with flowers and evergreens, instead of the former practice of illumination. It was also a custom to spend the evening at the State House, where the usual entertainments of an evening party were provided by the ladies.

ley, Andrew Hunter, David Comfort, Samuel Snowden, Matthew L. Perrine, Joseph Rue, John Hanna. In a written exhortation sent to the people during one of these illnesses, Mr. Armstrong, after enumerating some of the reasons for their gratitude, said:

"Added to this, if variety of faithful preaching is to be esteemed an advantage, you have enjoyed it in a signal degree. Though I am bold to say that no congregations were less neglected in the stated administrations of the Gospel ordinances while I was well, so also during the many years of sickness and inability to preach, you have enjoyed the abundant labors of love and of friendship of my brethren in the ministry, with all that variety of faithful preaching with which the best-informed mind or the most curious ear could wish to be indulged. Paul has planted—Apollos watered."

The newspaper of Monday, December 30, 1799, preserves another instance of a communication made by Mr. Armstrong to the people on one of the Sabbaths in which he must have peculiarly lamented his inability to be in the pulpit:

"The Rev. Mr. Hunter, who officiated yesterday for Mr. Armstrong, after reading the President's proclamation respecting the general mourning for the death of

General Washington, gave the intimation, in substance as follows, by the particular request of Mr. Armstrong: *

"'Your pastor desires me to say on the present mournful occasion, that while one sentiment — to mourn the death and honor the memory of General Washington — penetrates every breast, the proclamation which you have just heard read, he doubts not, will be duly attended to; yet believing, as he does, that he but anticipates the wishes of those for whom the intimation is given, Mr. Armstrong requests the female part of his audience in the city of Trenton and Maidenhead, as a testimony of respect for, and condolence with Mrs. Washington, to wear for three months, during their attendance on divine service, such badges of mourning as their discretion may direct.'"†

* The Rev. Andrew Hunter, D.D., (already mentioned on p. 185,) was a personal friend, and in the pulpit a frequent assistant, of Mr. Armstrong. He graduated at Princeton 1772; was chaplain in the Revolutionary army; taught a classical school at Woodbury; cultivated a farm on the Delaware near Trenton; was professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in Princeton, 1804–8; head of an Academy in Bordentown, 1809; afterwards a chaplain in the Washington Navy Yard, and died in Burlington, February 24, 1823. His second wife was Mary, a daughter of Richard Stockton, signer of the Declaration. Dr. Hunter had an uncle who was also the Rev. Andrew Hunter, and was pastor in Cumberland county, N. J., (about 1746–1760.) He married Ann, a cousin of Richard Stockton, the signer. He died in 1775. His widow was buried in the Trenton church-yard, October, 1800, and the funeral sermon was by President Smith.

† In this year the national offices were removed to Trenton for some weeks, in consequence of the prevalence of the yellow fever in Philadelphia. The Secretary of the Navy urged the President (Adams) to follow his Cabinet, remarking that "the officers are all now at this place,

Mr. Armstrong's ill health now often interrupted his habitual punctuality at the church courts; but he continued to take an active part in their work whenever present. He was one of a committee that endeavored in vain from 1803 to 1812, to obtain a charter of incorporation for the Presbytery — a measure that was desirable in consequence of two legacies (Miller's and Patterson's) that had been left to the Education Fund.*

and not badly accommodated." The President was reluctant to come. He had written in 1797 of the "painful experience" by which he had learned that Congress could not find "even tolerable accommodation" here. However, he promised to go by the middle of October, submissively assuring his correspondent, "I can and will put up with my private secretary and two domestics only, at the first tavern or first private house I can find." He arrived on the tenth, and on the next day was greeted with fire-works. He found "the inhabitants of Trenton wrought up to a pitch of political enthusiasm that surprised him," in the expectation that Louis XVIII. would be soon restored to the throne of France. (*Works of John Adams*, vols. ii. vii. ix.) Adams had at this time a conference of six days with Hamilton and other members of his Cabinet before they could agree on the French business. (*Randall's Life of Jefferson*, vol. ii. 496–8.)

* Three columns of the "True American," of Trenton, for November 23, 1807, are filled with the Presbytery's petition to the Legislature of that year, in which the two objections to former applications are ably met, namely, that the incorporation would endanger civil liberty, and that it would be granting an exclusive privilege. The political prejudices of the times had probably more to do with the refusal than these pleas. The democratic newspapers of the day contain many bitter articles against the Presbyterian clergy, who were generally Washing-

In 1805 he was appointed to receive from the Assembly's Committee of Missions the Presbytery's share of certain books and tracts for distribution on the seaboard of the State, and in the counties of Sussex, Morris, and Hunterdon. In June, 1804, he preached at the installation of the Rev. Henry Kollock in Princeton, and in 1810 presided at the ordination and installation of the Rev. William C. Schenck in the same church. He sat as a Commissioner in most of the General Assemblies from the first in 1789 to that of 1815. In 1804 he was elected to the chair of Moderator, and, according to rule, opened the sessions of the following year with a sermon. The text was John 14 : 16. He also preached the sermon at the opening of the Assembly of 1806, in consequence of the absence of Dr. Richards, the last Moderator. On that occasion his text was John 3 : 16, 17.

Mr. Armstrong was elected a Trustee of the College of New-Jersey in 1799, and Dr. Miller observed at his funeral that, "few of the members of that Board, as long as he enjoyed a toler-

ton Federalists. Among other delinquencies they were charged with omitting to pray for President Jefferson. In February, 1813, the Presbytery received a charter for ten years.

able share of health, were more punctual in their attendance on its meetings, or more ardent in their zeal for the interests of the institution."

NOTES.

I.

A public commemoration of the death of Washington was observed in Trenton on the fourteenth January, 1800. By invitation of the Governor and Mayor, with the Rev. Messrs. Hunter, Waddell, and Armstrong, on behalf of the citizens, President Smith delivered the oration, and it was published. The late Dr. Johnston, of Newburgh, who was then in college, relates in his Autobiography (edited by Dr. Carnahan, 1856) that a large number of students walked from Princeton to hear the oration. A procession was formed opposite the Episcopal Church, from which a bier was carried, preceded by the clergy, and all passed to the State House, where the ceremonies were performed. At a certain stanza in one of the elegiac songs, "eight beautiful girls, of about ten years of age, dressed in white robes and black sashes, with baskets on their arms filled with sprigs of cypress, rose from behind the speaker's seat," and strewed the cypress on the mock coffin.

II.

Some idea of the appearance and condition of Trenton at the date of this chapter may be formed from the observations of passing travellers.

Brissot, the Girondist, who died by the guillotine in 1793, was here in 1788. "The taverns," he writes, "are much dearer on this road than in Massachusetts and Connecticut. I paid at Trenton for a dinner 3*s.* 6*d.* money of Pennsylvania. We passed the ferry from Trenton at seven in the morning. The Delaware, which separates Pennsylvania from New-Jersey, is a superb river. The prospect from the middle of the river is charming. On the right you see mills and manufactories; on the left two charming little towns which overlook the water. The borders of this river are still in their wild state. In the forests which cover them there are some enormous trees. There are likewise some houses, but they are not equal, in point of simple elegance, to those of Massachusetts."*

In 1794 an English tourist says of our town: "The houses join each other, and form regular streets, very much like some of the small towns in Devonshire. The town has a very good market, which is well supplied with butcher's meat, fish, and poultry. Many good shops are to be seen there, in general with seats on each side the entrance, and a step or two up into each house." The market prices on the day of this visit were, beef 8*d.*, mutton 4*d.*, veal 4*d.* "This was dearer than common on two accounts; the great quantity lately bought up for exportation upon taking off the embargo, and the Assembly of the State being then sitting at Trenton. Land here sells, of the best kind, at about ten pounds [twenty-seven dollars] an acre."†

* Nouveau Voyage dans les Etats-unis, fait en 1788. J. P. Brissot de Warville. i. 148.

† Journal of an Excursion to the United States in the summer of 1794, by Henry Wansey, F.A.S. A Wiltshire clothier.

The Duke de la Rochefoucault, about the same time, makes this entry in his journal: "About a quarter of a mile beyond Trenton is the passage over the Delaware by a ferry, which, though ten stage-coaches daily pass in it, is such that it would be reckoned a very bad ferry in Europe. On the farther side of the river the retrospect to Trenton is, in a considerable degree, pleasing. The ground between that town and the Delaware is smooth, sloping, decorated with the flowers and verdure of a fine meadow. In the environs of the town, too, are a number of handsome villas which greatly enrich the landscape."*

The celebrated French naturalist, F. A. Michaux, son of A. Michaux, sent over by Louis XVI. for botanical research, passing in 1802, gives us this paragraph: "Among the other small towns by the roadside, Trenton seemed worthy of attention. Its situation upon the Delaware, the beautiful tract of country that surrounds it, must render it a most delightful place of abode."†

* Travels in 1795–7, vol. i. 549. In April, 1795, Peter Howell advertised a "two-horse coachee" to leave Trenton for Philadelphia every Wednesday and Saturday, at eleven o'clock. Fare for a passenger, 12*s.* 6*d.*; fourteen pounds of baggage allowed.

† *Travels of Francois André Michaux.* By act of March 3, 1786, the Legislature granted André, the traveller's father, permission to hold land, not exceeding two hundred acres, in any part of the State for a botanical garden. There is a Memoir of Francois (who was the author of the "North American Sylva") in the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. xi. Three years before the above-mentioned act, the French Consul for New-Jersey offered in the King's name all kinds of seeds whenever a botanical garden should be established. The Legislature (Dec. 10, 1783) made the ingenious reply that as soon as they established such a garden they should be glad to receive the seeds.

The situation of the town seems to have something that takes the French eye. In 1805 General Moreau established his residence on the opposite bank of the river, and Joseph Bonaparte was disappointed in the purchase of a site adjoining (now in) the town, before he settled a few miles below.* It may have been the reputation of the river scenery that gave the hint to the wits of Salmagundi, in the journal of an imaginary traveller: "Trenton—built above the head of navigation, to encourage commerce—capital of the State—only wants a castle, a bay, a mountain, a sea, and a volcano, to bear a strong resemblance to the bay of Naples."†

An Englishman found nothing to remark of Trenton in 1805, than an exemplification of what he calls the American "predilection for wearing boots." "At Trenton I was entertained with the sight of a company of journeymen tailors, at the work-board, all booted as if ready for mounting a horse."‡

An Italian savant, crossing the State, takes time only to say: "Although Trentown is not very large, nor very populous, it is to be regarded as the capital, where the Council and the Assembly convene."§

* Moreau's mansion was burnt down on Christmas day, 1811. The stable is now a manufactory. Upon his first arrival the General resided "at the seat of Mr. Le Guen, at Morrisville." By virtue of an act of Legislature (March 5, 1816) the estate of one hundred and five acres was sold by Moreau's executor, three years after his fall at Dresden.

† Salmagundi, by Irving, Paulding, etc. 1807.

‡ Travels in some parts of North-America in 1804–6, by Robert Sutcliff.

§ *Viaggio negli Stati Uniti*, 1785–7. Da Luigi Castiglioni, Milan, 1790.

III.

In the Trenton newspaper of July, 1799, is an advertisement by Mr. Armstrong, relative to a suit in the English courts, the latest report of the progress of which is given as follows in the London papers of May, 1856:

EQUITY COURT, LONDON, MAY 7.

Before Vice-Chancellor Kindersly.

PARKINSON *vs.* REYNOLDS.

"About the middle of last century there lived in the north of Ireland a family of the name of Rutherford. Between the sons a quarrel arose, and the father, conceiving that the younger, Robert, was in fault, chastised him. Robert Rutherford thereupon quitted his father's house, and shortly afterwards enlisted in Ligonier's troop of Black Horse. After a time he came to England, but he soon quitted the Kingdom and settled at the village of Trenton, in the United States, where he opened a tavern, which he called 'The Ligonier or Black Horse.' In the course of his migrations he had married, and the year 1770 found him settled at Trenton, at the 'Black Horse,' with a family consisting of one son and four daughters. About that period there one day drove up to the tavern, in a carriage and four, an English officer, by name Colonel Fortescue. Colonel Fortescue dined at the tavern, and after dinner had a conversation in private with one of Rutherford's daughters. Within two hours after this conversation Frances Mary Rutherford had, notwithstanding her sister's entreaties, quitted her father's house in company with Colonel Fortescue. With him she went to

Paris, where after a few years he died, leaving her, it is supposed, a considerable sum of money. On his death she quitted Paris and came to England; and here she married a gentleman of considerable property, named Shard. In 1798 Mrs. Shard had a great desire to discover what had become of her father's family, whom she had quitted nearly thirty years previously, and through her confidential solicitor inquiries were made of Mr. Armstrong, the Presbyterian minister at Trenton. The inquiries were fruitless—her brother and all her sisters were dead; it appeared hopeless to expect to find a Rutherford, and the matter was dropped. Mr. Shard died in the year 1806, and in 1819 Mrs. Shard died a widow, childless and intestate. No next of kin appearing, the Crown took possession of the property. In 1823 an attempt was made to set up a document as the will of Mrs. Shard, but it was declared a forgery. In 1846 the present plaintiff made a claim to the property, setting up that claim through a Mrs. Davies, who was alleged to be first cousin of the deceased. It turned out that Mrs. Davies was not first cousin; but further evidence having been procured, the claim was again made, through the same Mrs. Davies, who was now alleged to be a second cousin of the deceased.

The Vice Chancellor now delivered judgment, and came to the conclusion that as between the Crown and the claimant the latter made out a case. It was sufficiently proved that Mrs. Davies was a second cousin of the deceased Mrs. Shard; but as it did not follow that there might not be a still nearer relative than the claimant in existence, and as the evidence on this latter point was not conclusive, the matter must go back to chambers for further inquiries."

IV.

Public morals were in such a low state in Trenton in 1804, that on the third of August a public meeting was held to consider measures for reform. Intemperance, obscenity, noisy assemblages on the Lord's day, brawling, fighting, and throwing stones in the streets were named among the signs of disorder. The causes assigned were the unlicensed selling of spirituous liquors, especially on Sunday, and "the relaxation of discipline in family government." In August 1806, Stacy Potts, the Mayor, publicly solicits Christians of all denominations, who as parents, guardians, masters or mistresses have charge of the young, to restrain them from vice and temptation. The same officer made a similar appeal to "the serious and prudent inhabitants of Trenton," in April 1810, and trusts that the public authorities may be so assisted by the citizens "that religious people abroad may no longer be deterred from placing their children apprentices in this city, lest they become contaminated with the vicious habits which have too much prevailed among the rising generation in the city of Trenton."

V.

Half a century ago, as now, political animosity was ready to take any handle to create prejudice against an opponent. Thomas Paine was a strong partisan of Jefferson. Having rode up (Feb. 28, 1803) from his residence in Bordentown to Trenton, to take the stage for New-York, the proprietors of both the stage offices, being Federalists, refused with strong oaths to give a seat to an

infidel. When he set out in his own chaise, accompanied by Col. Kirkbride, a mob surrounded him with insulting music, and he had difficulty in getting out of town. The author of "Common-sense" showed neither fear nor anger, and "calmly observed that such conduct had no tendency to hurt his feelings or injure his fame, but rather gratified the one and contributed to the other."

Mr. Lyell, the geologist, gives a better account of the temper of Trenton politicians as he saw it in the processions of October, 1841. (*Travels*, 1841–2, vol. i. p. 82.)

VI.

The incidental reference to Mrs. Washington on p. 341, may recall a record in the Trenton newspaper of December 29, 1779: "Yesterday Mrs. Washington passed through this town on her way from Virginia to Head Quarters at Morris-Town; when the Virginia troops present (induced through respect) formed and received her as she passed, in a becoming manner."

Chapter Eighteenth.

The New Brick Church—Notes.

1804—1806.

The Trenton congregation, which had so long felt obliged to associate itself with one or other of its neighbors for the support of a pastor, at length found itself able to assume an independent position. According to the understanding which was had with the Maidenhead Church, when Mr. Armstrong divided his care between it and Trenton, he became the exclusive pastor of the latter in October, 1806. About the same time that congregation accomplished the erection of a new house of worship.

The stone building then in use was nearly eighty years old. The want of a better edifice had long been felt. In 1769 there was a subscription for repairs. It was probably with a view to rebuilding or enlargement that the Trustees, in 1773, proposed to the vestry of the Episcopal Church a joint application to the Le-

gislature for a lottery. The vestry appointed a committee of conference on the lottery, "and to be managers thereof,"* but the project seems to have dropped until 1791, (Nov. 18–23,) when "an act to empower the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church, and the minister, wardens, and vestry of the Episcopal Church in Trenton to have a lottery for the purpose therein noticed," after passing the Council and being ordered to a third reading in the House, was lost. Another experiment in this line was attempted in December, 1793, when the Trustees appointed a committee to unite with the Episcopalians in a lottery for the benefit of the two congregations; but nothing further is said on the subject. However unequivocal the immorality of such an expedient may seem to us, the lottery has been a frequent resource of churches, as well as other institutions, even less than sixty years ago. At the same meeting in which the last lottery suggestion was made, Maskell Ewing and Alexander Chambers were appointed "to take about a subscription paper for the purpose of raising money to build a new Presbyterian Church in Trenton."

* Minutes of Vestry of St. Michael's, February 28, 1773.

In 1796 the price of building materials was so high that the design was abandoned. It was not until May, 1804, that the successful measures were taken. The building was now represented to be "in so ruinous a state that it can not long continue to accommodate those who worship there, in a comfortable manner." The subscription was headed by four names giving two hundred dollars each. By the twenty-fourth August nearly four thousand dollars had been subscribed, and it was determined to build in the ensuing spring.* The corner-stone was laid April 15, 1805; the old house having been first taken down. The newspaper of the time has this report:

"On the fifteenth instant were laid the corner-stones of the foundation of a new Presbyterian Church in this city. The Elders, Trustees, and Managers of the building, with a respectable number of the citizens attending, an appropriate prayer was made by the Rev. Mr. Armstrong, minister of the congregation. The scene was solemn, im-

* Moore Furman and Aaron D. Woodruff were appointed to obtain a plan; Benj. Smith, John Chambers, and Peter Gordon were the Building Committee or "Managers." It was determined that the size should be forty-eight by sixty feet, in the clear; with a projection or tower in front of four by ten, with a cupola. The four largest contributors were Abraham Hunt, Benj. Smith, Alex. Chambers, and Moore Furman.

pressive, and affecting. A plate of copper, inscribed April, 1805, with the minister's name, was laid between two large stones at the foundation of the south-east corner. The foundation, though much more extensive, is laid nearly on the site of the old church, which stood about eighty years."

While the building was in progress, Mr. Armstrong preached on every alternate Sabbath in the Episcopal Church, the rector of which (Dr. Waddell) had a second charge at Bristol, as Mr. Armstrong had at Maidenhead.

The new Church was opened for its sacred uses August 17, 1806. The pastor conducted the services in the morning, and President S. S. Smith in the afternoon.*

The pastor preached from part of Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple: 1 Kings 8:22, 23, 27–30. At the next public service in which he officiated, he preached on the conduct becoming worshippers in the house of God, from Hebrews 10:25 and Job 13:11. This subject

* From the Trenton "Federalist" of Monday, August 11, 1806:

"*Notice.* Divine service will be performed for the first time in the new Presbyterian Church in this place, next Lord's day. Service will begin at eleven o'clock in the forenoon and three in the afternoon. Collections will be raised after each service, to be appropriated for the expenditures incurred in finishing the house."

was pursued in a third discourse on public worship as a duty to God, to society, to ourselves. For the services of the dedication Mr. Armstrong prepared a prayer; and in the belief that on its own account, as well as for its historical associations, it will be read with interest and benefit by the people who worship in a house, which, though not the same as the one then dedicated, was included in the references of its supplications, I here insert it:

PRAYER.

"Holy, holy, holy Lord God Almighty. There is no God like thee in heaven above, or on earth beneath, who keepest covenant with thy servants that walk before thee with all their heart. Thou art our God, and we would praise thee; our fathers' God, and we would exalt thee.

"Thou art the God who hearest prayer. Where shall we go but to thee, who art the way, the truth, and the life?

"We adore thee for all the mercies and benefits which thou hast conferred on us through our lives. But especially we adore thee for the everlasting Gospel, and those gracious privileges to which we are called in thy Church on earth, and in thy Church in heaven. We adore thee that thy Church is founded on the rock Christ Jesus, and that the gates of hell shall never be able to prevail against it. We adore thee for the promise of thy presence to thy

Church and people, that where two or three are met together in thy name, thou wilt be with them to bless them. We adore thee, O Lord, that when the place where our fathers had long worshipped was decaying with age, and the congregation of thy people needed room and accommodation in thy house, thou didst put it into our hearts to build a house for thy worship and service, and where thy people may meet and enjoy thy presence. We adore thee that thou hast permitted us to meet to set it apart, and dedicate it to the Lord our God by preaching, prayer, and praise.

"And now, O Lord, our God, we thus offer this house to thee; that thy people may here meet for purposes of reading, preaching, and hearing thy word; of prayer and praise; of fasting and thanksgiving; of the administration of baptism and the Lord's supper, agreeably to the word of God and the constitution of our Church.

"And now, O Lord, make this house continue to be the habitation of the God of Jacob forever; a place where prayer shall be ever made to thee, and where Gospel worship shall be fixed and stated as long as it shall last for this purpose; and that there never may fail a people and a congregation to worship thee in this place throughout all generations.

"We pray that thou wilt be pleased to give success to the labors of the ministers of the Gospel in this place; accompanying the means of grace with divine power and energy, making the administration of the Gospel effectual to convince and convert, establish and sanctify thy people.

"And now, O Lord, our God, make it good for us that we have built a house for thy worship. But as the most

sumptuous works of our hands can not communicate any holiness to the worshipper, make it good for us to draw near to God in the assembling of ourselves together at all commanded, fixed, and proper times in this place. Enable us, thy people of this congregation, and all who may worship with us in this place, collectively and individually, to dedicate ourselves unto the Lord; to present our souls, and our bodies, and our spirits unto the Lord as living sacrifices, holy and acceptable, which is our reasonable service; to consecrate our time, our talents, our privileges, and opportunities, with all we have and are, to thy service; that each of us, and each of our families, with all who are near and dear to us, may prepare an habitation in our hearts and souls for God, and that our bodies may be the temples of the Holy Ghost.

"And we do most earnestly pray that all our offenses may be blotted out; that we may be washed in the blood of Christ; that the vows and offerings, the prayers and the praises which we and our posterity offer up now, and in all future time, may be accepted through the merits and intercession of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, and made effectual for our and their salvation.

"Let thy grace and thy Spirit, O Lord our God, be with us to direct, assist, and strengthen us in all the prayers and supplications that we now and in future may offer in this place. Be graciously pleased to vouchsafe us thy presence herein continually. Hearken, O Lord, to the prayers and supplications of me thy servant, and of these thy people, in all times and in all circumstances, and in all places where we may pray in, or as towards this place; and when thou hearest answer us in mercy.

"If we sin—for no man liveth and sinneth not—and turn and repent, hear and forgive our sins, O Lord!

"If the love of thy people wax cold; if our grace languish, faint, and be ready to expire, give renewed faith, grace, and love.

"Hear us, O Lord, if we pray to be delivered from drought, famine, war, pestilence, disease, or death.

"Hear us, O Lord, if we pray to be delivered from blasting, mildew, and whatsoever might threaten to prevent or destroy the harvest.

"Hear us, O Lord, when we pray for all schools, colleges, and seminaries of learning;

"For our nation and country;

"For all who bear rule and authority over us;

"For peace and prosperity;

"For all missionaries and missionary labors throughout the world; that the Jews may be gathered, and the fullness of the Gentiles may come in; that the land of Ethiopia and the heathen may be given for an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession to Christ Jesus.

"Hear, O Lord, and hasten the time when all the families of the earth shall be blessed in Christ our Lord, and when his knowledge and his righteousness shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.

"Now, therefore, arise, O Lord God, into thy resting place, thou and the ark of thy strength. Let thy priests, O Lord, be clothed with righteousness, the ministers of thy religion with salvation. Let thy saints shout for joy, and thy people rejoice in goodness.

"Blessed be the Lord God—Father, Son, and Holy

Ghost. As he was with our fathers, so let him be with us. Let him not leave us nor forsake us; and incline our hearts to do all things according to his holy will.

"Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; peace be within these walls, prosperity within this place. For my brethren and companions' sakes I will now say, peace be within thee. Because of the house of the Lord our God, I will seek thy good.

"The Lord bless thee and keep thee!

"The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee.

"The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.

"And in testimony of the sincerity of our desires, and in humble hope of being heard, let all the people say, AMEN."

A sketch of the new Church was made from memory, by the late Dr. F. A. Ewing, who wrote of it:

"Elevation seemed to be the great object to be attained, and so the walls were carried up to a height which would now be thought excessive. Its galleries were supported on lofty columns, and in consequence its pulpit was so high as sometimes to threaten dizziness to the preacher's head. Above the gallery the vaulted ceiling afforded almost room enough for another church. It had its tower, its belfry and bell, still sweet and melodious,*

* From a Trenton newspaper of July 29, 1807:

"On Saturday, the twentieth instant, was hung in the steeple of the

its spire, which, had it been proportioned in height to the tower supporting it, would have ascended needle-like almost to the clouds. With all its architectural defects, however, it was a fine old building, well adapted to the purposes of speaking and hearing; filled an important office, both to the congregation and on public occasions; stood for years the chief landmark to miles of surrounding country, and at last resisted sternly the efforts of its destroyers. Its site, on the south-west corner of the grave-yard, is well defined by the old graves and tombs which clustered close to its northern and eastern sides, and is the only part of the ground divided into burial-lots."

Alas! before this manuscript could be brought to the use for which it was prepared, the body of its accomplished writer was occupying a grave in the very part of the church-yard described in its closing sentence.

The building was of brick, and cost ten thousand eight hundred and twenty dollars. It had seventy-two pews on the floor, divided by two aisles, and thirty-six in the gallery. Forty-six were put at the annual rent of twelve dollars;

New Presbyterian Church in Trenton, a new bell, weighing four hundred and seventy-eight pounds, cast by George Hedderly, bell-founder and bell-hanger of the city of Philadelphia, which does its founder much credit, both for the neatness of its casting and its melodious tone.

"B. Smith,
"P. Gordon, } Managers."

eighteen larger ones at fourteen dollars. The gallery pews were free, and one side was reserved for colored persons.*

* The salary was eight hundred dollars. Mr. Armstrong was succeeded in Maidenhead by the Rev. Isaac V. Brown, at whose ordination and installation (June 10, 1807) he gave both the charges.

NOTES.

I.

Maskell Ewing, named in this chapter, belonged to what is now the wide-spread family of Ewing in New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Maryland. Thomas Maskell, of England, married Bythia Parsons in Connecticut, in 1658. Thomas Stathem, of England, married Ruth Udell, in New-England, in 1671. Maskell's son married Stathem's daughter. *Their* daughter was married in 1720 to Thomas Ewing, who had recently come to Greenwich, West-Jersey, from Ireland. Their eldest son was Maskell, (1721,) who was at different times, Justice of the Peace, Clerk and Surrogate of Cumberland county, Sheriff, and Judge of the Pleas, and died in 1796. One of his ten children was the Maskell Ewing of Trenton. He was born January 30, 1758; in his youth he assisted his father in the clerkship in Greenwich, and before he was twenty-one was elected Clerk of the State Assembly. This brought him to Trenton, and he filled the office for twenty years. He was for a time Recorder of the city, and also read law in the office of William C. Houston. In 1803 he removed to Philadelphia, and in 1805 to a farm in Delaware county, Pennsylvania. He represented that county in the State Senate for six years. He died on a visit to Greenwich, August 26, 1825. His son Maskell was born in 1806, was a lieutenant in the army, and has died within a few years.

Among the branches of the Ewing stock was the family of the Rev. John Ewing, D.D., Provost of the

University of Pennsylvania, (1779–1803,) and pastor of the First Church of Philadelphia. On our session records of September 17, 1808, are the names of "Margaret and Amelia, daughters of the late Rev. Dr. Ewing," as then admitted to their first communion, and May 6, 1808, "Mrs. Dr. Ewing" to the same.

II.

Not long after the establishment of the congregation in their new house, two of the oldest Trustees, both corporators of 1788, were removed by death, namely, Moore Furman and Isaac Smith. A notice of Mr. Smith has already been given.

Mr. Furman was one of the successful merchants of Trenton. In the Revolution he served as a Deputy Quarter-Master General. He was the first Mayor of Trenton, by appointment of the Legislature, upon its incorporation, in 1792.

Mr. Furman was elected a Trustee June 12, 1760, and Treasurer in 1762. Soon after that year he removed to Pittstown, and afterwards to Philadelphia. He returned to Trenton, and was reëlected to the Board in 1783, and continued in it until his death, March 16, 1808, in his eightieth year. His grave-stone is in the porch of the present church.

Though so long connected with the temporal affairs of the congregation, Mr. Furman was not a communicant until November 1, 1806. He made a written request of Mr. Armstrong that in case he should be called to officiate at his funeral he would speak from the words: "Into thine hand I commit my spirit: thou hast redeemed me,

O Lord God of truth." (Psalm 31.) This request was faithfully followed in the body of the discourse, to which the Pastor added as follows:

"This congregation well know his long and faithful services as a zealous supporter and Trustee of the concerns and interests of this Church. In the revolution he was known as a faithful friend of his country, and was intrusted by government and the Commander-in-Chief of our revolutionary army—whose friendship was honor indeed—in offices and in departments the most profitable and the most important. When bending beneath the load of years and infirmities, how did it gladden his soul and appear to renew his life, to see this edifice rising from the ruins of the old one and consecrated to the service of his God! And did you not see him, shortly after its consecration, as a disciple of his Redeemer recognizing his baptismal vows, and in that most solemn transaction of our holy religion, stretching his trembling hands to receive the symbols of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour, and in that act express the sentiment of the words selected by himself for the use of this mournful occasion: 'Into thine hand I commit my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.'"

III.

One of the Trustees elected to supply the vacancies made by the death of Moore Furman and Isaac Smith was Peter Hunt, whose wife was a daughter of Mr. Furman. Mr. Hunt had a large store-house at Lamberton when it was the depot for the trade of Trenton, and at

the time of his death was in partnership with Philip F. Howell. He resided on the estate now occupied by his son, Lieut. W. E. Hunt, of the navy. General Hunt (he was Adjutant General) died at Charleston, S. C., March 11, 1810, at the age of forty-two, having spent the winter there on account of his health. The Rev. Dr. Hollingshead had a highly satisfactory conversation with him on the day of his death, when he said: "He had no reluctance nor hesitation to submit to all the will of God in the article of death; freely committed his soul into the hands of his Redeemer, and left his surviving family to the care of a holy and gracious Providence."* He was buried, with military honors, at Charleston, after services in the Circular Church, and there is a cenotaph commemorating him in our church-porch.†

IV.

The newspapers of the day record the burial, in the Presbyterian ground, of William Roscoe, who died Oct. 9, 1805, in his seventy-third year, "a first cousin of, and brought up by the celebrated Wm. Roscoe, of Liverpool, author of the Life of Leo X., etc. In the Revolution he was express-rider to Governor Livingston, and for many years Sergeant-at-arms to the Court of Chancery."

* Letter from Dr. H. in Trenton "True American," March 26, 1810.

† Jonathan Doan (now written Doane) having contracted to erect a State Prison at Trenton, Messrs. Hunt and Furman (1797) conveyed the ground on which the jail (now the arsenal) was built. The measurement was more than eight and one quarter acres; the consideration £369 1*s*.

Chapter Nineteenth.

Theological Seminary — Mr. Armstrong's Death—Notes.

1807—1816.

Mr. Armstrong had the happiness of seeing the first Theological School of our Church established within ten miles of Trenton, and in the village so much associated with the earlier scenes of his academical and domestic life. He was in the General Assembly of 1810, which agreed upon the policy of one central institution; and in that of 1813, which established it at Princeton. With Dr. Alexander and Dr. Miller, the first Professors, his intercourse was intimate during the few years of life that remained to him after their coming into the neighborhood, and both of them frequently supplied his pulpit during his protracted infirmity. It was an additional mark of providential favor that he lived to see the first fruits of the Seminary, and to give

his voice for the licensing of its earliest graduates. The last time he appeared in Presbytery was at the session of April, 1815, which was held in Trenton. On that occasion Messrs. Weed, Parmele, Stanton, and Robertson, of the first class, were licensed.*

The records of each Session are annually reviewed by a committee of Presbytery. In the meeting of April, 1813, the committee, (Drs. Woodhull and Alexander,) reporting favorably on the Trenton minutes, add,

"That in one particular especially, the utmost care and attention have been paid to the purity and edification of the Church, and to guard against errors in doctrine and practice."

This commendation refers to an act of the session excluding from church privileges a member who had adopted, and was promulgating the Universalist heresy, vilifying the communion to

* Dr. Wm. A. McDowell's name is first in the catalogue of Alumni, having been licensed in 1813 by the New-Brunswick Presbytery, but he had entered in an advanced stage of his studies. The first three students were Wm. Blair, John Covert, and Henry Blatchford. The Presbytery of April, 1813, which sat in Trenton, received both Drs. Green and Alexander, from Philadelphia; the former having been elected President of Princeton College in 1812.

which he belonged, and refusing to attend its worship. In April, 1816, the general approval of the book was qualified by some exceptions as to the summary measures pursued by the session in suspending one of their own number, upon his declining to take their advice to discontinue his service as an elder. Upon this exception the session reversed their judgment, and the elder withdrew from the exercise of his office; but he appears afterwards to have been reïnstated.

When the New-Jersey Bible Society was organized in 1810, Mr. Armstrong was elected a manager. In 1813 the anniversary of the Society was held in his church, when Dr. Wharton, the Episcopal minister of Burlington, preached, and the Rev. Wm. H. Wilmer, of Virginia, read the liturgy. This courtesy was extended in consequence of the Episcopal Church being under repair.

On the anniversary of Independence, in 1808, Mr. Armstrong was again the orator at the celebration by the Cincinnati, and citizens. He acted as chaplain on that day in 1812, when the "Washington Benevolent Society of Trenton," made their first public appearance, and the concourse in the church was swelled by the mem-

bers of a political convention opposed to the war, which was then meeting in the town.*

The suffering, and incapacity of freely moving his limbs, produced by his tedious disease, were now depriving Mr. Armstrong of the prospect of ever resuming his pastoral duties. The mere ascending into the pulpit cost the most painful exertion. He suppressed, as far as possible, the exhibition of his anguish, that he might perform the work in which he delighted; and although the act of writing must have been peculiarly distressing to his distorted hands, I have seen more than one discourse from his pen, indorsed as prepared to be read to the congregation by a substitute, when too ill to leave his house. One of these (not dated) begins thus:

"Unable, through the dispensation of Divine Providence, to address you in public, I embrace the only means in my power to convey a portion of that instruction which, I trust, has often been administered to our mutual edifica-

* January 18, 1806, a public dinner was given in Trenton to Capt. (afterwards Commodore) Bainbridge, upon his return from Barbary. The Commodore's family were of this locality and church. Edmund Bainbridge was an elder from the united churches of Trenton and Maidenhead in the Presbytery of October, 1794. John Bainbridge was one of the grantees in the church-deed of 1698, (page 30,) and that name is still visible on a tombstone in a deserted burying-place in Lamberton, marked—"Died 1732; aged seventy-five years."

tion. During the space of many years I have not for any whole day been free from pain. Reduced at times to the borders of the grave, and reviving, contrary to all human expectation, I have ardently desired to address you as one rising from the dead. A person on the verge of two worlds, contemplating the dread realities of eternity, standing equal chances to be the next hour an inhabitant of time or eternity, must have most impressive sentiments from the relations which they bear to each other. In these moments, and under these impressions, I have wished for strength and opportunity, if it were but for once, to appear in the assemblies of the people of God, as I was wont to do. But on a conscientious review of the matter and the manner of my public instructions, I am constrained to ask what could I do more than I have done? All I could hope for would be that your sympathy, excited by my long and painful affliction, and heightened by an unexpected restoration to health, might, through the aids of divine grace, awaken a more lively attention, and give a more impressive solemnity to eternal things."

This touching preface was followed by an earnest and tender application of the lessons of our Lord's parable of the fig-tree that remained unfruitful after years of faithful culture.

In April, 1815, the congregation authorized the session to engage an assistant minister, and they chose Mr. David Bishop, a licentiate, and at that time a teacher in the Trenton Academy—

afterwards pastor in Easton. In the summer of that year Mr. Armstrong performed his last public service, and many still remember an affecting incident connected with it. Though emaciated and worn down by pain, there was no reason at that time to suppose that he might not yet, as for years past, make his way to the pulpit and assist in the services. But on that Sabbath it was noticed that the only psalm used in the singing was the third part of the seventy-first; the first half (or to the "pause") being sung at the beginning, and the remainder at the close of the devotional exercises. His text was "Woe unto me if I preach not the Gospel." There could not have been many unmoved hearts as the feeble pastor, verging on three-score and ten, read—

"The land of silence and of death
Attends my next remove;
Oh! may these poor remains of breath,
Teach the wide world thy love.

"By long experience have I known
Thy sovereign power to save;
At thy command I venture down
Securely to the grave.

"When I lie buried deep in dust,
My flesh shall be thy care;
These withered limbs with thee I trust,
To raise them strong and fair."

In a few months this faith was realized, and he entered on his rest, January 19, 1816, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, the thirty-eighth of his ministry, and (counting from the date of his call) the thirty-first of his pastorship.

On the twenty-second the remains of the deceased pastor were followed to the church by a large concourse, and, before they were committed to the earth, an instructive discourse was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Miller. The preacher closed as follows:

"With respect to the character and the success of his labors among you, my brethren, there needs no testimony from me. You have seen him for nearly thirty years going in and out before you, laboring with assiduity, and during a great part of the time under the pressure of disease, for your spiritual welfare. You have seen him addressing you with affectionate earnestness, when his enfeebled frame was scarcely able to maintain an erect posture in the pulpit. You have heard him lamenting, in the tenderest terms, his inability to serve you in a more active manner. And you have seen him manifesting with frequency his earnest desire to promote your best in-

terest, even when weakness compelled him to be absent from the solemn assembly.

"But why enlarge on these topics before those who knew him so well? or why dwell upon points of excellence in his character which all acknowledged? The warmth of his friendship; his peculiar urbanity; his domestic virtues; his attachment to evangelical truth; his decided friendliness to vital piety; his punctuality, as long as he had strength to go abroad, in attending on the judicatories of the Church; these, among the many excellent traits of character exhibited by the pastor of whom you have just taken leave, will no doubt be remembered with respect and with mournful pleasure, for a long time to come.

"More than once have I witnessed, during his weakness and decline, not only the anxious exercises of one who watched over the interests of his own soul with a sacred jealousy, but also the affectionate aspirations of his heart for the eternal welfare of his family and flock. Farewell! afflicted, beloved man, farewell! We shall see thee again; see thee, we trust, no more the pale victim of weakness, disease, and death, but in the image and the train of our blessed Master, and in all the immortal youth, and health, and lustre of his glorified family. May it then, oh! may it then appear that all thine anxious prayers and all thine indefatigable labors for the spiritual benefit of those who were so dear to thine heart, have not been in vain in the Lord."*

* Mrs. Armstrong survived her husband until February 13, 1851, when she peacefully and triumphantly departed, in the ninety-third year of her age. I had the privilege of the friendship of this most estimable

The epitaph on the tomb of Mr. Armstrong, in the church-yard, was written by President S. Stanhope Smith.

"Sacred to the memory of the Reverend James Francis Armstrong, thirty years pastor of the church at Trenton, in union with the church at Maidenhead. Born in Maryland, of pious parents, he received the elements of his classical education under the Rev. John Blair; finished his collegiate studies in the College of New-Jersey, under the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, and was licensed to preach the Gospel in the year 1777. An ardent patriot, he served through the war of Independence as a chaplain. In 1790 he was chosen a Trustee of the College of New-Jersey. A warm and constant friend, a devout Christian, a tender husband and parent; steady in his attendance on the judicatories of the Church; throughout his life he was distinguished as a fervent and affectionate minister of the Gospel, and resigned his soul to his Creator and Redeemer on the nineteenth of January, 1816. 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord. Amen: even so come Lord Jesus.'"

lady for ten years after becoming pastor of the church, and the discourse delivered on the Sabbath after her funeral has been published under the title of "The Divine Promise to Old Age." One of the daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Armstrong, was the wife of Chief Justice Ewing, who died in Trenton, July 4, 1816. Their son, Robert L. Armstrong, a member of the bar at Woodbury, died in Trenton, September 22, 1836.

NOTES.

I.

For the years of Mr. Armstrong's pastorate before 1806, there is no official record of statistics. In a memorandum made by him, he says that when he first came to Trenton "the number of communicants did not exceed perhaps eight or nine in that church, exclusive of Maidenhead. The numbers increased slowly and gradually. At every communion season, which was twice a year, a few were added; generally of such as had been under serious impression for some time before admission."

In 1806 the whole number of communicants in Trenton was sixty-eight. Two only of these are known to be surviving in 1859. At the two communions of 1808 seventeen persons made their first profession at one, and thirteen at the other. In 1809 seventeen more were received. Among the manuscripts of Mr. Armstrong is a series of sermons on the divine being, attributes, and perfections, marked by him as having been preached "just before so many were added to the church in 1808 and 1809." In 1810 the whole number of communicants was one hundred and twenty-four; in 1815, one hundred and eleven.

II.

I throw into this note some miscellaneous items collected from the books of the Treasurer and Trustees at the close of the last century.

The windows of the church appear to have been exposed to extraordinary casualties, as there are constant entries of payments for glazing, and sometimes subscriptions for that object. Evening services were only occasional, as we learn from such entries as, "1786, March 18, paid for candles when Mr. Woodhull preached in the evening, 2*s.* 6*d.*" There were collections on every Sabbath; their amount varied from 2*s.* 4*d.* to £1 15*s.* 2*d.* That the old prescriptive coin was freely used on these occasions is revealed in such entries as, "By old coppers;" "to amount of old coppers on hand that won't pass." The collections were sometimes for other than church purposes. "1788, collection for Rev. Samson Occom."* "1789, collection raised for a poor traveller, 27*s.* 6*d.*" In 1792, £2 7*s.* 6*d.* were collected "for Lutherans to build a church at Fort Pitt." In 1806, five mahogany "poles and [velvet] bags for collecting at church," were provided, according to a fashion long since superseded by boxes. For several years there is an invariable charge of 1*s.* 6*d.* for "sweeping meeting-house," every fortnight. The supplies for the pulpit, and the expense of their horses, seem to have been regularly paid. "1779, paid Rev. Mr. Grant, as a supply, being a young man unsettled, £1 2*s.* 6*d.*" 1785, "Supply one day and a half, 45*s.*" "Half a day, 15*s.*" The office of Deacon was performed by the pastor and elders at their discretion, out of funds in the

* *Occom* was a Mohegan (Connecticut) Indian, and the first of his race educated by Dr. Wheelock at Lebanon. In 1766 he collected more than £1000 in England for the Wheelock School. His agency is mentioned in the celebrated case of Dartmouth College: Wheaton's Reports, vol. iv. See Sprague's Annals, vol. iii. 192.

Treasurer's hands. "Paid Mr. Armstrong for a sick woman at Mr. Morrice's." "Shirt for —— ——." "Relieving her distress." "Paid Bell that was scalded." "Seth Babbitt, a stranger that was in distress, being castaway, as he said." Fuel was often distributed. December 20, 1799: "Bill for sundries to put the pulpit in mourning for G. Washington, and Mrs. Emerson for putting it on." The expenses of Presbytery were sometimes borne by the church treasury. "To Presbytery's expenses at Mr. Witt's," one of the hotels, means probably the keeping of their horses; but I must not conceal that in 1792 there is this charge, "for beer at Presbytery, 4*s.* 10*d.*" In the same year the other congregation were more liberal in their entertainment, as appears by this entry: "Bought of Abraham Hunt, for the use of the congregation when Presbytery sat in Maidenhead,

"8 gal. Lisbon wine at 7*s.* 6*d.*,	. . .	£3 0
5 " spirits, 9*s.*,	. . . . .	2 5
		£5 5

Ten years before—"half gallon of rum." The last, we may suppose, was for the use of workmen about the church, according to the custom then universal. In building the church of 1805, "spirits" were bought for this purpose by the barrel. The churches were sometimes repaid for this branch of their expenditures; as in 1798, Mr. Bond, (probably a magistrate) divided between the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches a fine collected by him from some unlicensed vender of spirituous liquors.

In November, 1786, the purchase of "an elegant, large Bible for the use of the Trenton Church," was authorized.

The sexton's fee for digging a grave, inviting to the funeral, and tolling the bell, was fixed at two dollars. In 1799 it was increased to three dollars and a half. As late as 1842 it was the custom for the sextons to go from house to house, and make verbal notice of funerals at the doors. There were not then, as now, three daily newspapers to supersede the necessity of publishing notices of this kind from the pulpit or otherwise.

The Trustees appear to have provided for the conveyance of the pastor to the places of the meeting of the Presbytery. At one time it was "agreed that Mr. Jacob Carle or his son, Capt. Israel Carle [neither elder nor Trustee] attend Mr. Armstrong to the Presbytery." At another time (1787) James Ewing, Esq., [then in no church office,] was designated to this service. There may have been that deficiency of acting elders (at least in the town) at this time, to which Mr. Armstrong refers in a note of 1813, in which he speaks of his having had charge of the charity-fund: "I am inclined to believe before there were any elders in the congregation." The expenses of the session in attending judicatories were paid by the Trustees.

The pew-rents in town were received by a collector annually appointed by the Trustees out of their own number, or from the congregation. Delinquents were sometimes threatened with the last resort. In 1788 it was ordered, "that no horses or other creatures be put in the grave-yard." It is presumed that this was a prohibition against hitching the animals there on the Sabbath, or pasturing them at any time. The sexton, however, had "leave to pasture *sheep* in the grave-yard."

In 1788, "the present meeting taking into consideration the great defect in public worship in the congregation, by want of a regular clerk, and Mr. John Friend, a member of the congregation, having voluntarily offered himself steadily to supply that office, the congregation accepted of his offer and desire the Trustees to make any agreement they may think proper with said Friend on that subject."

In 1799, (at a congregational meeting,) "whereas applications are often making for the burial of strangers in the ground belonging to this congregation, by which means it is filling up very fast, therefore it is ordered that no stranger be permitted to be buried in said ground hereafter, without paying what may be agreed upon by the Trustees of said church; and for relief in the premises it is agreed that proposals be made to the other societies of Christians in this place, and to the inhabitants in general, to open and promote subscriptions for the purpose of purchasing a piece of ground for a Potter's field." The Trenton "Potter's field" is on the New-Brunswick road, and was probably purchased by the town about 1802. One of the graves is designated as follows: "Sacred to the memory of Judy, wife of William Field; faithful and favorite Christian servants of the late Robert Finley, D.D., of Baskingridge, New-Jersey. Erected 1839."

In 1799 the Trustees "ordered that the minutes and proceedings of the congregation and Trustees be read by the minister or clerk of the church the next Sabbath, or as soon as convenient after their meetings, in order that it be generally known how the business of the Society is conducted."

Some precedence seems to have been accorded to the Governor of the State. He was allowed the first choice of a pew in the new church of 1806. The incumbent at that time was Joseph Bloomfield, known by the titles both of Governor and General. He resided in Trenton during the successive terms of his administration, (1801–12.) Mrs. Bloomfield was a communicant of the church, and her nephew, Bishop McIlvaine, remembers the visits of his childhood to the then new, but now demolished church.

In the earlier part of Mr. Armstrong's ministry he conformed to the custom, then common in our pulpits, of wearing a gown and bands. The practice seems to have fallen gradually into disuse, more from its inconveniences than from any rise of scruples. The variety of English academical gowns seems to have been known in our State as late as 1800, for in that year a Burlington tailor advertises in the Trenton Gazette: "D.D., M.A., and other clerical robes made correctly."

III.

In 1815 the church lost one of its ruling elders. His epitaph is:

"In memory of Nicholas Dubois, many years teacher of the Young Ladies' Academy, and an elder of the Presbyterian Church of this place. Died November 4, 1815. An. æt. forty-four. A man amiable, pious, and exemplary; a teacher, able, zealous, and faithful; an elder ardently devoted to the welfare of his Father's flock."

IV.

The interval between Mr. Armstrong and his successor is marked in our history by the commencement of the Sunday-school of the church. The earliest school of this description was instituted by members of the Society of Friends, for the instruction of colored persons. It was called the "Trenton First-day School," and the primary meeting of the Society was called for "the second second-day of the second month," 1809. This failed, as it would appear, from want of means to pay a teacher; and in May, 1811, a society of all denominations formed "a first-day, or Sunday-school, for the instruction of the poor of all descriptions and colors." I am indebted to John M. Sherrerd, Esq., of Belvidere, for the following interesting memoranda as to the introduction of the more strictly religious, or church Sunday-school:

"While a student of law in the office of the late Chief Justice Ewing, in the winter of 1815–16, I became a member of the Trenton church, under the preaching of Dr. Alexander, who chiefly supplied the pulpit after the death of Mr. Armstrong. There was some awakening among the churches in that winter. We held a union prayer-meeting, weekly, for some time, and at one of these it was mooted whether we might not do good by starting a Sunday-school. Several of us had read about such schools in England, and heard that they had been begun in Philadelphia, but none of us had ever seen one.* Our prayer-

* The "Narrative" of the General Assembly of 1811 mentions the establishment of a Sabbath-school for poor children in New-Brunswick.

meeting was composed of about a dozen young men who had just united with the different churches, and a few others who were seriously disposed. I recollect the names of Gershom Mott, John French, and Mr. Bowen, Baptists; John Probasco, a Methodist; Lewis Evans, who was brought up a Friend. At first I was the only Presbyterian, but others soon joined me. I was appointed to visit the schools in Philadelphia, and accordingly spent a Sabbath there, during which I visited the old Arch Street, Christ Church, and St. John's Schools, which were all I could find. The teachers furnished me with all the desired information, and gave me specimens of tickets, cards, books, etc. On my return we determined to make the experiment, and obtained the use of the old school-room over the market-house on Mill Hill, which then stood nearly opposite the present Mercer court-house, and eight o'clock on the next Sunday morning found us assembled there—six teachers and twenty-six scholars.

"We kept up our weekly prayer-meeting at different places, in the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist connection — chiefly in the first two. Every Sunday the school was dismissed in time to attend the three churches, on alternate days, each teacher accompanying his class and occupying a part of the gallery. We seldom failed of having a word of encouragement from the officiating minister, and I well remember the address of Dr. Alexander, the first Sabbath we met in the Presbyterian Church. At the end of three months, the room becoming too small for us, we formed a school in each of the three churches, and each soon became as large as the original one. The Presbyterian was held in the school-building on your church-

lot. The others in the Baptist Church and Trenton Academy. I continued there about nine months, and until I left Trenton, during which time we kept up our union prayer-meeting, and the visits of all the schools alternately at the different churches on Sunday mornings. Towards the last they almost filled the gallery of each church. After the separation on Mill Hill female teachers, for the first time, took part. We followed the old plan of each scholar committing as much as he could during the week—receiving tickets, redeemed, at a certain number, with books. One factory boy, I remember, who, although twelve hours at work daily, committed so many verses that I could not hear him in school-hours, but took the time for it after church."

From a document in a Trenton newspaper (August 8, 1817) it appears that the three schools mentioned by Mr. Sherrerd were organized under the title of "The Trenton and Lamberton Sunday Free-School Association." The date of its beginning is there given as March 9, 1816. "From April to October the school consisted of ninety scholars. On the twenty-seventh October it was divided into three." "It is with peculiar pleasure the Association notice those two nurseries of mercy, the Female and African Sunday-schools, which have arisen since the establishment of their own." A column of a newspaper of Oct. 4, 1819, is occupied with a report of the "Trenton Sabbath-day School," which opens with saying, "Nine months have now elapsed since, by the exertions of a few gentlemen, this school was founded." The report is signed by James C. How, afterwards the Rev. Mr. How, of Delaware, a brother of the Presbyterian pastor. In February, 1821, the same Socie-

ty reports that it had four schools, the boys', the girls', the African, and one at Morrisville. The last school had, in November, 1819, eleven teachers and one hundred and sixteen scholars. The "Female Tract Society" furnished tracts monthly to the schools, and the "Juvenile Dorcas Society" supplied clothing to the children.

Six female members of our congregation (Ellen Burrowes, Mary Ann Tucker, Mary A. Howell, Hannah E. Howell, Eliza R. Chambers, and Hannah Hayden) originated "The Female Sabbath Association," Oct. 4, 1816. To these were soon added Sarah M. Stockton, (afterwards wife of Rev. W. J. Armstrong,) Rosetta C. Hyer, Jane Lowry, Eliza C. Palmer, Lydia Middleton, (afterwards wife of Rev. Henry Woodward,) Ellen E. Burrowes, (Mrs. Stacy G. Potts,) Catherine Schenck, Mary Creed, Abigail Ryall, Juliette Rice,* Susan Armstrong, Anna Jackson, (wife of Rev. Jos. Sanford.†) The session granted the use of the gallery of the church, as a place of teaching. The school was opened Oct. 20, and was held for an hour and a half in the afternoon. A boys' school was afterwards formed, of which Mr. James C. How was the first Superintendent. There are eight hundred and twenty-two names on the roll of female pupils from 1822 to 1839.

* Miss Rice maintained her active interest in the School until her death in May, 1855. She served the general cause as a writer. Two of her books, "Alice and her Mother," and "Olive Smith," were published by the American S. S. Union; three others, "Consideration, or the Golden Rule," "Florence Patterson," and "Maria Bradford," by the Massachusetts S. S. Society.

† Miss Jackson's name and Trenton associations frequently occur in the Memoir of Mr. Sanford, by Dr. Baird, pp. 28, 63, 66, 86, 97, 118, 121.

V.

In the minutes of the Trustees, March 19, 1814, is this entry:

"Benjamin Smith, Esq., who has for a long time been a Trustee and President of the Board, as also Treasurer for the church, all which offices he has filled with faithfulness, but expecting shortly to remove to Elizabethtown, and make that his final place of abode, begged for said reason to resign his trusteeship."

Mr. Smith was elected "a Deacon for Trenton," May 6, 1777, and was an elder in 1806, and probably for some years before. He died in Elizabethtown, October 23, 1824, and a sermon was preached at his funeral by his pastor, the Rev. Dr. John McDowell, from the words: "Lord, I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place where thine honor dwelleth." This text had been selected by himself for the purpose, and his will directed the same to be inscribed on his tomb. By the kindness of Dr. McDowell I am enabled to present a copy of the statements in the funeral discourse, which show how applicable was its inspired motto.

"Our departed friend loved the house of the Lord, and he has told the speaker that this evidence has often encouraged and comforted his soul, when he could get hold of scarcely any other. His conduct in this respect corresponded with his profession. Through a long life he manifested that he loved the Lord's house. It was taught him, I have understood, from his childhood. At an early age he became the subject of serious impressions, and

hopefully of divine grace. He was first received into this church under the ministry of the Rev. James Caldwell, in the year 1765, when he was about eighteen years old. He afterwards removed to Trenton, and connected himself with that church, where he spent most of his days. There he long acted in the office of ruling elder. During the latter part of the time of his residence in Trenton, the congregation erected a new house of worship. In this he took a deep and active interest. He bestowed much of his time, contributed liberally of his means, and went abroad soliciting aid for its completion. About ten years since he removed to this town, and in the decline of life again connected himself with this church. He was soon elected a ruling elder, which office he executed with fidelity until his decease, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. He manifested his love to the house of God by his constant attendance on its worship until his last short illness; and he manifested it in his will, by leaving a bequest for the support of its worship, and remembering other congregations in the town. His last words were: 'Welcome sweet day of rest.'"

Among the legacies of Mr. Smith's will was one of twenty-five hundred dollars for the endowment of a scholarship in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, which was realized in 1839, upon the decease of his widow. It stands the twenty-sixth on the list of scholarships, and bears the name of its founder.

Chapter Twentieth.

Samuel B. How, D.D.—William J. Armstrong, D.D.—The Rev. John Smith.—Notes.

1816—1828.

On the nineteenth of August, 1816, the congregation met and elected for their pastor the Rev. Samuel Blanchard How.

Mr. (now Dr.) How, a native of Burlington, graduated in the University of Pennsylvania, (1811;) was tutor for a short time in Dickinson College; then a master of the Grammar School of his University; was licensed by the Presbytery of Philadelphia in 1813; then passed a session at the Princeton Seminary, and on November 10, 1814, was ordained and installed pastor at Solebury, Bucks county.

Mr. How was installed over the Trenton congregation December 17, 1816, on which occasion Dr. Miller presided, Dr. Alexander preached, (2 Cor. 3: 16.) Dr. Miller gave the charge to the pastor, and the Rev. I. V. Brown the charge to the congregation. This pastorship was hap-

pily and usefully continued until April, 1821, when a call from the First Church of New-Brunswick was laid before the Presbytery, and he was installed in that city in the following June.* The additions to the communion of the church in these five years were fifty-six on their first profession, and thirty on certificates from other churches.

Dr. How was followed by the late William Jessup Armstrong, D.D., son of the Rev. Dr. Amzi Armstrong, of Mendham and Bloomfield. Mr. Armstrong graduated at Princeton College in 1816; studied theology under his father, and for a year in the Princeton Seminary; and upon his licensure in 1819 (by the Presbytery of Jersey) entered on two years' service of the Board of Missions in Virginia, in the course of which he founded the Presbyterian Church in Charlottesville. Mr. Armstrong returned to New-Jersey in 1821, and on the twenty-eighth September he was unanimously elected pastor of Trenton. On the twenty-seventh November the

* In October, 1823, Dr. How became pastor of the Independent Presbyterian Church of Savannah; in 1830 President of Dickinson College; and subsequently returned to New-Brunswick upon a call to take the pastoral charge of the First Reformed Dutch Church in that city, which position he still occupies.

Presbytery of New-Brunswick, meeting in Trenton, the session was opened, according to a custom then prevailing, with Mr. Armstrong's trial sermon for ordination. On the next day, together with Charles Hodge and Peter O. Studdiford, he was ordained, and himself installed.* At this service Dr. Miller presided; Rev. George S. Woodhull preached, (2 Tim. 4 : 12;) Rev. E. F. Cooley gave the charge to the ministers, and Rev. D. Comfort that to the congregation. The date of Mr. Armstrong's actual entrance upon the duties of the pastorate is October 20, 1821.

During his short residence of about two and a half years, fifty-three new communicants were received on their profession, and fourteen on certificate.

While residing here Mr. Armstrong was married to Sarah Milnor, daughter of Lucius Horatio Stockton.

When Dr. John H. Rice was called to relinquish the church at Richmond, Virginia, he re-

* It is pleasant thus to meet with names, now well known, while in the uncertainties of their novitiate. Mr. Armstrong preached at the ordination of "C. C. Beatty," in 1822; and at the same meeting of Presbytery trials were assigned to "Mr. Albert Barnes." "Mr. Francis McFarland" preached his trial sermon, and was ordained. "Messrs. Robert Baird and John Breckinridge" were licensed.

commended Mr. Armstrong as his successor, and a call from that congregation was put into his hands February 3, 1824—the same day on which one of his successors in Trenton (James W. Alexander) was received by the Presbytery as a candidate for the ministry. At the following April meeting the pastor read to the Presbytery a statement he had previously made to the Trenton parish, of the reasons of his favorable inclination to the Richmond call. The Rev. Jared D. Fyler (then residing in Trenton) and Joshua Anderson, one of the elders, presented a written statement of the views of the people, expressive of their reluctant submission to the wishes of their pastor in the matter, and accordingly the dissolution took place.

Dr. Armstrong remained ten years in Richmond, when he en tred the service of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, first as agent, then as secretary; and it was on his passage from Boston to New-York, on the business of the Board, that he was wrecked in the steamboat Atlantic, November 27, 1846. The last scene of that catastrophe of which there is any account, presents him reading the Gospel, praying with, exhorting, and comforting his fel-

low-passengers, so long as the fatal event was delaying.

The characteristics of Dr. Armstrong's preaching have been stated by two good judges. The Rev. Dr. James W. Alexander wrote to the compiler of his Memoir:

"While he was at Trenton I often listened to his sermons, and there was no man whom at that day I heard with more impression. His sermons were carefully prepared, and were pronounced with a degree of warmth and emotion which are quite unusual. My recollection is vivid of his appeals to the heart, as being of a high order. When at a later period I was called to labor among the same people, I found that he had left that good name which is 'better than precious ointment.' There were manifest tokens of his faithfulness in public and in private."

Mr. Theodore Frelinghuysen, now President of Rutgers College, then a member of the bar, says in a letter in 1851:

"I very often enjoyed the privilege of hearing him while he was a stated minister at Trenton, and the impression made upon my mind, deep and unfading, was that of uncommon earnestness, sincerity, and power. He commenced in his calm and solemn manner; he rose with his subject; his mind kindled and his heart warmed as he discoursed; and towards the conclusion he poured his

whole soul into it, as if he thought he might never speak again, and as if some impenitent friend before him might never hear again the voice of warning and the invitations of mercy."*

The Rev. J. C. Smith, of Washington City, says: "One of our own elders knew him as a pastor in Trenton, and he blesses God that through him he was converted to God."†

The congregation was without a settled pastor for about twenty months, when having united in the choice of the Rev. John Smith, of Connecticut, that minister began to supply the pulpit regularly in December, 1825. He was not received by the Presbytery until the following February; and on the eighth March he was both ordained and installed in Trenton. In that service Dr. Carnahan presided, Dr. Hodge preached,

* Memoir and Sermons, edited by Rev. Hollis Read, 1853, pp. 31 and 104. A visitor in Trenton thus wrote, November 4, 1822: "I heard Mr. Armstrong preach a most eloquent sermon yesterday morning. He is one of my favorites. At night Mr. L——, the Methodist, a very good preacher; the coolest Methodist I ever heard. The Trentonians say that the Presbyterians have got the Methodist preacher, and the Methodists the Presbyterian."

† The excellent man here referred to, was Mr. John Voorhees, who was admitted to the communion in Trenton in April, 1822; and elected a ruling elder in 1829. He emphatically discharged the duties of his office "well," until the removal of his residence to Washington, in 1843, where he died October 28, 1849.

(1 Cor. 1 : 21,) and both the charges were given by the Rev. E. F. Cooley. Mr. Smith was a native of Wethersfield ; a graduate of Yale College (1821) and of the Andover Theological Seminary, and a licentiate of the Congregational Association of East-Fairfield.

Mr. Smith continued in this charge less than three years, but in that time fifty-nine persons made their first profession. Twenty-six of these were received at the communion of April, 1827 ; two of whom afterwards entered the ministry, namely, Mr. George Ely, pastor of Nottingham and Dutch-Neck, who died August 14, 1856, and George Burrowes, D.D., pastor of Kirkwood, in Maryland ; Professor in Lafayette College, and now pastor in Newtown, Pennsylvania. One of eleven new communicants in April, 1828, is commemorated in the following inscription in our church-yard :

" Here lie the remains of Jeremiah D. Lalor, who departed this life March 8th, A.D. 1845, aged thirty-two years. To those who knew him the remembrance of his virtues is the highest eulogy of his character. He had devoted himself to the service of God in the ministry of reconciliation, and when just upon the threshold of the sacred office was removed by death from the brightest

prospects of usefulness, to serve his Maker in another sphere."

Some confusion was created during Mr. Smith's ministry by the indiscreet, however sincere, zeal in what they called the cause of Christ, of two or three superserviceable ministers and candidates, who wished to introduce those measures for the promotion of the work of a pastor, that had, then at least, the apology of being too new to have taught their warning lessons. An attempt was made to form a distinct congregation, and separate meetings were held for a time, and even a small building erected, which was put into connection with the German Reformed Church; but the Presbyterians gradually returned, and no effort was made, or probably designed, to produce a schism. Mr. Smith, however, in August, 1828, requested a dissolution of the pastoral relation, which was granted by the Presbytery, and in February of the next year he was detached from that body and took charge of a Congregational Church in Exeter, New-Hampshire. He has since exercised his ministry in Stamford and other towns of Connecticut, and large numbers have become united with the churches he has served. While resident in

Trenton, Mr. Smith was married to a daughter of the late Aaron D. Woodruff, Attorney General of the State.

NOTES.

I.

During Dr. How's residence in Trenton several useful public enterprises were undertaken, in which he, together with the other ministers of the town, participated. In January, 1817, he was of the committee (with Colonels Beatty, Bayard, and Frelinghuysen, and Mr. Wm. Coxe) to prepare a constitution for the New-Jersey Colonization Society, then formed. In 1820, the Presbyterian and Episcopal clergymen were associated with Samuel L. Southard, George Sherman, Charles Ewing, and other philanthropic citizens, in encouraging the institution of a Savings Bank. The same persons were active in founding the Apprentices' Library in April, 1821, and Mr. Ewing delivered a discourse in the Presbyterian Church on the last day of that year, in view of the opening of the Library on the following day. In 1816 "The Female Tract Society of Trenton" began the useful ministry which it still continues. In 1822 the ladies of the congregation formed a "Missionary and Education Society," which met once a fortnight to provide clothing for theological students and for children at mission stations. Whilst the work of the hands was going on, one of the

ladies read missionary intelligence. Two associations for the circulation of the Scriptures were formed in 1824; in May "The Apprentices' Bible Society," of which Wm. P. Sherman was Secretary, and in August "The Bible Society of Delaware Falls, Auxiliary to the American Bible Society." The latter was organized in the State House, and among the speakers were the late Rev. Dr. Milnor, of New-York, and "Mr. Bethune, a theological student."

On the twenty-fourth June, 1817, died Aaron Dickinson Woodruff, who had been a Trustee from May 4, 1789. He was born September 12, 1762; delivered the Valedictory at the Princeton Commencement of 1779; was admitted to the bar 1784; was made Attorney General of the State in 1793, and annually reëlected, except in 1811, until his death. He also served in the Legislature, and was influential in having Trenton selected for the State capital. He was buried in the Trenton churchyard, where his epitaph records that,

"For twenty-four years he filled the important station of Attorney-General with incorruptible integrity. Adverse to legal subtleties, his professional knowledge was exerted in the cause of truth and justice. The native benevolence of his heart made him a patron of the poor, a defender of the fatherless; it exulted in the joys, or participated in the sorrows of his friends."

Mr. Woodruff's successor was Samuel L. Southard, who signed the triple oath required by the charter, (of allegiance to the State, to the United States, and of fideli-

ty as a trustee,) May 11, 1818. Until called from Trenton, in 1823, to the cabinet of President Monroe, he was one of the most punctual and active officers of the congregation. He was a Manager and Vice-President of the "Education Society of the Presbytery of New-Brunswick," formed in 1819, and a Vice-President in the Board of Trustees of the Theological Seminary at Princeton. Mr. Southard's public life as Legislator, Judge, Attorney-General, and Governor in his own State, and as Senator, Secretary of the Navy, and President of the Senate at Washington, needs no record here. He died in Fredericksburg, Virginia, June 26, 1842, at the age of fifty-five.

The name of Lucius Horatio Stockton having occurred in this chapter, it deserves commemoration as that of a prominent member of the congregation and church. He was a son of Richard Stockton, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a nephew of Elias Boudinot. Mr. L. H. Stockton was for some time District-Attorney of New-Jersey, and his nomination to be Secretary of War, within a few weeks (Jan. 1801) of the close of the administration of President Adams, was one of the causes of umbrage to Mr. Jefferson. He died at Trenton, May 26, 1835. Mr. Stockton was eccentric, and a very earnest politician, but did not deserve to be called "a crazy, fanatical young man," as Wolcott wrote.* In a long series of articles in the *Trenton Federalist* of 1803,

* Gibbs's Federal Administrations, ii. 468. In Mr. Jeremiah Evarts's journal of April 18, 1827, he mentions a meeting in the Theological Seminary at Princeton on the subject of Foreign Missions, when Dr. Alexander "was followed by Mr. Stockton, a lawyer of Trenton, who spoke with great feeling." (*Tracy's Life of Evarts.*)

Mr. L. H. Stockton defends himself and his deceased uncle, Samuel Witham Stockton, from attacks in the Democratic *True American*. Mr. S. W. Stockton went to Europe in 1774, and was Secretary of the American Commission to the courts of Austria and Prussia. He negotiated a treaty with Holland, and returned to New-Jersey in 1779, where he held various public offices. In 1792 he was an Alderman of Trenton; in 1794 Secretary of State; and his monument in our church-yard records that he died June 27, 1795, (in his forty-third year,) in consequence of being "thrown from his chaise."* The Rev. James F. Armstrong, who was "long on the most friendly and intimate terms with him," preached at his funeral from 1 Sam. 20 : 3.

While Dr. How was pastor another of the prominent citizens of Trenton and members of this church was removed by death. Samuel Leake was born in Cumberland county, Nov. 2, 1747. He received his preparatory training in the two celebrated schools of Fagg's Manor and Pequea. The Rev. John Blair, Dr. R. Smith, and Enoch Green gave him certificates, 1767–9, of proficiency in different branches, and of his high religious character. After teaching three years in Newcastle, he received (May 1772) testimonials from Thomas McKean and George Read, (two of the three Delaware signers of the Declaration of Independence,) George Monro, John Thompson,

* Not many steps from this monument are those of two brothers, (Douglass and Philip F. Howell,) on one of which it is said that the deceased "lost his life by a fall from his horse," (1801,) and on the other that the deceased was "thrown from his gig, and died in a few minutes," (1833.)

and the Rev. Joseph Montgomery. He then entered Princeton College, and took his Bachelor's degree in September, 1774. In the following March President Witherspoon gave a written certificate of his qualifications to teach Greek, Latin, and mathematics, to which he appended: "I must also add that he gave particular attention to the English language while here, and is probably better acquainted with its structure, propriety, and force than most of his years and standing in this country."

Mr. Leak, however, did not resume the employment of teaching, but entered upon the study of the law, first with Richard Howell, Esq., afterwards Governor of the State, and then with Charles Pettit, Esq., of Burlington, and with their certificates, and that of Thomas McKean, (afterwards Governor of Pennsylvania,) he was licensed as an attorney in November, 1776. He began practice in Salem, but in October, 1785, removed to Trenton, where he pursued his profession so successfully as to be able to retire before he was enfeebled by age. He paid unusual attention to the students in his office; regularly devoting one hour every day to their examination. I have before me an example of his systematic ways, in a document engrossed in a large hand, beginning thus:

"I. Be it remembered that Samuel Leake, on Sunday, the thirteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eleven, in the Presbyterian Church in Trenton, received the Lord's Supper; James F. Armstrong then being minister of the Gospel, and administering the Supper in that church."

Entries in the same form, with the proper dates, follow as to each of the semi-annual communions until October 1, 1815, when the record is that, "Dr. Miller preached the Action Sermon; Dr. Alexander administered the ordiance. Mr. Armstrong was sick and absent." The paper continues to make a formal register of each attendance at the Lord's supper until it closes with that on January 2, 1820, two months before his decease. He prepared similar documents for each of his daughters as they became communicants. Mr. Leake died on the eighth of March, 1820, in his seventy-third year. The Supreme Court being in session at the time, the bar not only resolved to attend the funeral, but recommended to their brethren throughout the State to wear the customary badge of respect. His epitaph is as follows:

"Sacred to the memory of Samuel Leake, Esquire, Sergeant at Law. Died eighth March, A.D. 1820. A.E. 72. Educated to the Bar he attained the highest degree of eminence; Distinguished for candor, integrity, zeal for his clients, and profound knowledge of jurisprudence, he fulfilled the duties of his station with singular usefulness, 'without fear and without reproach.' Deeply versed in human literature, and devoutly studious of the words of sacred truth; he lived the life of a Christian, and died the death of the righteous."

II.

In the term of Dr. Armstrong's ministry the session and church were painfully concerned with a public affair in

which one of their members was implicated. Peter Gordon, Esq., (who was elected an elder in March, 1797, and a Trustee in September, 1804,) after eighteen years' tenure of the office of State Treasurer, was found to be in default. While the matter was in course of investigation by the Legislature (1821–2) Mr. Gordon voluntarily withdrew from the communion, and from his place in the session, but was restored in June, 1825, and the next month took a certificate of dismission to New-York.

III.

During the time of the Rev. John Smith, two of the elders of the church died.

Benjamin Hayden was in the session in September, 1806—how long previously to that date can not be ascertained. He was also a Trustee from September, 1811, till his death, which took place February 28, 1827, in his seventy-fourth year. This venerable and excellent man left a son of the same name, who died a member of this church, April 11, 1858, in his eighty-fifth year.

John Beatty was a son of the Rev. Charles Beatty, the successor of Wm. Tennent, at Neshamony. His mother was a daughter of Governor Reading, and his grandmother was of the family of Clinton, so distinguished in the history of New-York. Mr. Beatty was a native of Bucks county; graduated at Princeton 1769; was educated in medicine under Dr. Rush, but entered the army of the Revolution, where he soon became a Lieutenant Colonel. He was among the captured at Fort Washington, on the Hudson, and afterwards rose to the rank of Major, and

was Commissary General of prisoners.* After the peace he practised medicine in Princeton, and was Secretary of the New-Jersey Medical Society; but in 1783 and other years was in Congress; in 1789 was Speaker of the State Assembly; and from 1795 to 1805 was Secretary of State. From May, 1815, until his death, he was President of the Trenton Banking Company. He was President of the company which built the noble bridge that unites Trenton to his native county in Pennsylvania.† General Beatty was a Trustee of the church from 1799 to 1804, and again from 1822 till his death. He was received to the communion May, 1808; ordained to the eldership September, 1817, at the same time with James Ewing. Robert McNeely, and Joshua Anderson. Chief Justice Ewing wrote his epitaph:

"Sacred to the memory of General John Beatty; born

* Major Beatty is mentioned by Washington in a letter of May, 1788, and there are letters from the Commander in Chief to him, of 1779, in Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, v. 393, vi. 295, 351.

† The foundation stone of the first pier was laid by General Beatty, May 21, 1804, and on the thirtieth January, 1806, the completion of the bridge was formally celebrated with a procession, an address by the President, and a dinner. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar (1825) was "sorry for the great hurry" in which he had to take the boat for Philadelphia, "because I should have liked to have examined Trenton; it is a very handsome place. . . . There is, moreover, at Trenton a remarkable bridge crossing the Delaware. It consists of five great suspended wooden arches, which rest upon two stone abutments and three stone piers. The difference between this bridge and others consists in this, that in common bridges the road runs over the tangent, but in this bridge the roads form the segment of the arch." (*Travels through North-America*, vol. i. 136.)

December 10, 1749: died May 30, 1826. Educated as a physician, he became early distinguished for benevolence, assiduity, and skill. In the war of Independence, in important military stations, he faithfully served his country. By the public voice he was called to the discharge of eminent civil offices. In the State and national Legislatures repeatedly a representative, always active and influential. For many years a ruling elder of this church. In every walk of life amiable, honorable, and useful. He crowned the virtues of the man, the patriotism of the soldier, and the sagacity of the statesman by the pure piety and sincere religion of the devout and humble Christian."

Colonel Erkuries Beatty, of Princeton, was a brother of Gen. Beatty, and father of C. C. Beatty, D.D., of Steubenville.

IV.

In the summer of 1821 the Rev. John Summerfield, the English Methodist preacher whose visit to this country produced an impression still vividly retained by many of his hearers, passed a few days in Trenton, and occupied the Presbyterian pulpit for two successive evenings. Abstracts of both his sermons are given by his latest biographer, who was one of the large audience that crowded the church. He says: "Mr. Summerfield received the most marked attention from every class during his brief stay in Trenton; and though suffering all the while from sickness, (for he was attacked the day after his arrival,) he strove to entertain and edify the various company that sought his society." "*A New Life of Summerfield*, by William W. Willett." Philadelphia, 1857.

The most notable public event of 1824 was the visit of General Lafayette to the United States. In his tour he arrived in Trenton on Saturday, the twenty-fifth of September. Next morning he attended public worship in our church; afterwards* he visited Joseph Bonaparte at Bordentown, and returned to spend the night. He breakfasted here again July 16, 1825.

President Monroe, (who was wounded in the battle of Trenton,) on his tour of 1817, arrived here on Saturday, June seventh, and attended worship the next day in the Presbyterian Church.

V.

James Ewing, father of the Chief Justice, and the tenth child of Thomas and Mary Ewing, (p. 363,) first came to Trenton as a representative of Cumberland county, in the Legislature in 1774, and removed his residence there in 1779. He was afterwards, under Congress, Auditor of Public Accounts, Commissioner of the Continental Loan Office for New-Jersey, and Agent for Pensions. He was Mayor of Trenton, 1797–1803. For some years he was a partner of Isaac Collins (p. 328) in merchandise, and there is a letter of condolence from him to Mr. Collins, on the death of his wife, in the Memoir of Mr. C. He was one of the founders of the Library and the Academy. He was a corporator, commissioner, and secretary of the Society incorporated March 15, 1796, to make the Assanpink navigable from the "Trenton Mills" to "the place where it intersects the stage road from Burlington to

* "Aprés l'office divin que nous entendimes dans l'eglise Presbyterienne." *Levasseur's Lafayette en l'Amerique.*

Amboy;" and doubtless was in the company who on the third February, 1797, descended the creek in the boat Hope, from "Davidstown," where the upper lock was situated, to Trenton, in three hours, and so opened one half of the proposed line of navigation.* Mr. Ewing was elected a Trustee of the church September 5, 1808, and ordained an elder September 21, 1817. He continued in both offices until his death, which took place October 23, 1823. In accordance with his known objections to the practice, no stone was placed to mark the spot of his interment, which was in our church-yard.

VI.

It may be placed among the miscellaneous items of 1828, that on the fourteenth July the church was struck with lightning; but the conductor answered its purpose so well that no mischief was done beyond the shattering of a few panes of glass.

In October, 1827, the celebrated Joseph Lancaster established his residence here, and opened a school. In the next year a girls' school was taught by Mrs. Lancaster. For a quarter the public schools were under their joint direction. Their contract was to teach eighty children for one year, and supply books and stationery, for two hundred and seventy-five dollars.

In October, 1828, the Synod, meeting in Trenton, united in a general convention, which assembled in the church,

* It may have been a revival of this scheme that was contemplated in November, 1814, when a public meeting was called to form an association "to supply the town with fire-wood by water."

Chief Justice Kirkpatrick presiding, and the present Chief Justice Green being Secretary. A project for raising forty thousand dollars in two years, for erecting school-houses and supplying teachers and missionaries through the State, was recommended, as were also the objects of the "General Sabbath Union," the American Temperance Society, and the Sunday-school enterprise. In November, 1817, a convention met at Trenton and formed a State Society for the suppression of vice and the promotion of good morals, principally by aiding the civil authorities in executing the laws, and by diffusing a knowledge of the statutes and their penalties.

VII.

Copy of an inscription on a stone in the pavement of the church-porch:

"To perpetuate the memory and the modest worth of Mrs. Mary Dunbar, this marble is placed over her grave, a tribute of the grateful and affectionate remembrance of her pupils, whom for three successive generations as school-mistress she had taught in this city. Ever attentive to the pious nurture of her pupils in private, and to the duties of religion in public, she closed an exemplary and useful life, December 9, A.D. 1808: aged 76 years."

Chapter Twenty-first.

James W. Alexander, D.D.—John W. Yeomans, D.D.—John Hall, D.D.

1829—1859.

The successor of Mr. Smith was the Rev. James Waddel Alexander; who graduated at the Princeton College in 1820; entered the Seminary 1821; was licensed 1825; installed at Charlotte Court House, Virginia, 1827, and over the Trenton Church, February 11, 1829. On the last occasion Dr. A. Alexander presided, Dr. Miller preached, (Matt. 4 : 19,) Rev. Eli F. Cooley and Henry Perkins gave the charges.

The services of this pastorship began January 10, 1829, and terminated, October 31, 1832; during which period fifty-one new communicants were received, and thirty others on certificate. Dr. Alexander having complied with a request which I made of all the ex-pastors surviving at the time of preparing this volume, for such reminiscences of their residence here as would come

within the scope of my work, I gladly incorporate his letter in this stage of the narrative.*

"New-York, February 10, 1859.

"My Dear Friend: The retrospect of my ministerial life brings to view so many defects, and such unfruitfulness, that I have never been able to take pleasure in numbering up sermons preached, visits made, and members added; nor have I any anniversary or autobiographical discourses to which I could refer. At your request, however, I can not refuse to give you a few reminiscences of my connection with the church of which you are the pastor.

"A great intimacy subsisted between my father and our predecessor, the Rev. James F. Armstrong, and the friendship between their respective descendants continues to this day. Mr. Armstrong had been the friend of Witherspoon, Smith, and Kollock. He was laid aside from preaching, by a disabling and distressing rheumatism, before I ever entered his delightful and hospitable house—rich in good books, good talk, and good cheer—where old

* The ruling elders during Mr. Alexander's term were: 1. Nathaniel Burrowes; first an elder in Pennington, and received into the Trenton session December 24, 1815. His monument is inscribed: "A memorial of Nathaniel Burrowes, who died January 29, 1839, aged seventy-one years. An elder of the Presbyterian Church for forty years." 2. Robert McNeely, who came to Trenton in 1791, was ordained to the eldership 1817; died January 27, 1852, in his eighty-fifth year. He was for eighteen successive years annually elected Mayor of Trenton. 3. John Voorhees, who is mentioned in the preceding chapter. 4. Samuel Brearley, elected with Mr. Voorhees in 1829, and died May 27, 1848.

and young were alike made welcome and happy. But this brought me acquainted with Trenton, with that family, and especially with Chief Justice Ewing, by whose means and influence, more than any other, I was afterwards led to settlement among them. The family of Mr., afterwards Judge, Ewing, was the home of my childhood and youth; which led that distinguished and excellent man to look upon my early performances in the pulpit with undue partiality. By him, and by the late General Samuel R. Hamilton, who was a Princeton man, my name was brought before the congregation, and I was installed as their pastor, by a committee of Presbytery, on the eleventh day of February, 1829. I had, however, begun my labors with them on the tenth of January, when I preached from 1 Cor. 11 : 28. My strictly pastoral labors ended on the last day of October, 1832, when I preached from Ezekiel 16 : 61, 62; though I continued to supply the pulpit until the end of the year. My term of settlement may therefore be called four years. The records of the Church-session will show the number of accessions to the communion of the church; these were few. There was nothing like a revival of religion during my continuance with them, and it was cause of painful thought to me that my labors were so little owned to the awakening of sinners. Neither am I aware that there was any remarkable addition to the number of hearers. But the people were forbearing and affectionate towards their young and inexperienced minister, who for most of the time was feeble in health, and was subjected, as you know, to some unusual afflictions in regard to his early children.

"In those days we worshipped in the old church, which

was sufficiently capacious, with one of the old-time high pulpits. The congregation had been trained to habits of remarkable punctuality and attention. Notwithstanding some inroads of new measures during the previous period, under the labors of a so-called Evangelist, the church was as sound and staid a Presbyterian body as I have ever seen. It comprised some excellent and experienced Christians, and among these the valued elders whose names you have recorded. Good Mr. McNeely was slow but sure; an upright man, of more kindness than appeared at first; of little vivacity, and no leaning towards risks or innovation. Mr. Voorhees and Mr. Samuel Brearley came later into the session; both, in my judgment, judicious and godly men. Mrs. Armstrong, the venerable relict of the pastor first named, does not belong particularly to my part of the narrative, except that she chose to treat me with the regard of a mother for a son. She was then in health and strength, and lived to exhibit a dignified, serene, and beautiful old age. Having come of a distinguished family, the Livingstons of New-York, she never ceased to gather around her fireside some of the most elegant and cultivated society. Her conversation, though quiet, was instructive, turning often upon the heroes of the Revolution. She was, I think, at Princeton during the battle; indeed she was a native of that town. From that excellent family I received support and encouragement of the most useful and delicate kind, during a time of manifold trials. My term of service was marked by no striking external events, no great enlargement, excitement, or disaster. The longsuffering of God was great towards a

timid and often disheartened servant, who remembers the period with mingled thankfulness and humiliation.

"At this time the Trenton church contained some excellent specimens of solid, instructed, old school Presbyterianism. I shall never forget the lessons which it was my privilege to receive from aged and experienced Christians, who must often have looked with wonder and pity on the young minister who undertook the responsible task of guiding them. The dying scenes which a pastor beholds in his early years make a deep impression; and I recall some which were very edifying, and which attested the power of the doctrines which had been inculcated. Among my most valued parishioners was a man in humble life, who has lately gone to his rest, I mean James Pollock. At a later day he was most wisely made an elder. At that time he lived in a small house on Mill Hill, and worked as a dyer in one of the woollen-factories on the Assanpink. His figure was somewhat bent, and his hands were always blue, from the colors used in his trade. But his eye was piercing and eloquent; his countenance would shine like a lantern from the light within; and the flame of his strong and impassioned thought made his discourse as interesting as I ever heard from any man. He had the texts of Scripture, as many Scotchmen have, at his finger-ends, and could adduce and apply passages in a most unexpected manner. The great Scottish writers were familiar to him. I think his favorite uninspired volume was Rutherford's "Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners to Himself." I lent him Calvin's Institutes, which he returned with expressions of high admiration for *Mr. Caul-*

vin. His acquaintance with the reformation history of his native land, in both its great periods, was remarkable, being such as would have done credit to any learned clergyman. Unlike many who resembled him in attainment, Mr. Pollock was inwardly and deeply affected by the truths which he knew. His speech was always seasoned with salt, and I deemed it a means of grace to listen to his ardent and continuous discourse. He was certainly a great talker, but without assumption or any wearying of competent hearers. His dialect was broad, west-country Scotch, for he was from Beith, in Ayrshire; and while I was resident his sense of the peculiarity kept him from praying in the meetings, though none could otherwise have been more acceptable. Having from my childhood been used to Scotch Presbyterians, and knowing how some of the narrower among them will stickle for every pin of the covenanted tabernacle, and every shred and token, as if ordained in the decalogue, I was both surprised and delighted to observe how large-minded Mr. Pollock was, in respect to every improvement, however different from the ways of his youth. I have witnessed his faith during grievous illnesses, and I rejoice to know that he was enabled to give a clear dying testimony for the Redeemer whom he loved. Such are the men who are the glory of our Presbyterian churches.

"During the term of my incumbency it is remarkable that the two persons who had most influence in congregational affairs were not communicants, though they were closely connected with all that occurred in the church; these were Chief Justice Ewing and Mr. Southard, afterwards Secretary of the Navy. It deserves to be noted,

among the traits of a Presbyterianism which is passing away, that Judge Ewing, as a baptized member of the church, always pleaded his rights, and once in a public meeting declared himself amenable to the discipline of church courts. (Discipline, chap. i. § 6 page 456.) There is good reason to believe that he was a subject of renewing grace long before his last illness in 1832. During this brief period of suffering he made a distinct and touching avowal of his faith in Christ.

"Judge Ewing is justly reckoned among the greatest ornaments of the New-Jersey bar. His acquaintance with his own department of knowledge was both extensive and profound, closely resembling that of the English black-letter lawyers, who at this moment have as many imitators at the New-Jersey bar as any where in America. He was eminently conservative in Church and State; punctual in adherence to rule and precedent, incapable of being led into any vagaries, sound in judgment, tenacious of opinion, indefatigable in labor, and incorruptibly honest and honorable, so as to be proverbially cited all over the State. In a very remarkable degree he kept himself abreast of the general literature of the day, and was even lavish in regard to the purchase of books. He was a truly elegant gentleman, of the old school; an instructive and agreeable companion, and a hospitable entertainer. He deserves to be named in any record of the church, for I am persuaded that there was no human being to whom its interests were more dear. As the warm and condescending friend of my boyhood and youth, he has a grateful tribute from my revering affection.

"In one particular the people of Trenton were more

observant of our Form of Government (see chap. xxi.) than is common. When from any cause there was no one to preach, the service was nevertheless carried on by the elders, according to the book, and a sermon was read. The reader on these occasions was always Mr. Ewing, and the discourse which he selected was always one of Witherspoon's; the choice in both cases being significant. I have often been led to consider how much better this is, for instance in country congregations, than the rambling away to hear some ignorant haranguer, perhaps of an erroneous sect, or the listening to a frothy exhortation from some zealous and forward brother, without gifts and without authority.

"The name of Dr. Francis A. Ewing, son of the Chief Justice, naturally occurs to our thoughts here. Space is not allowed for that extended notice which might elsewhere be proper, for the Doctor's was a character well deserving close study. Though a professional man by title, he was in fact and of choice much more a man of letters and a recluse student of science. His attainments were large and accurate, though made in an irregular way, and though he never seemed to others to be studying at all. In the classical languages, in French, in the natural sciences, and in all that concerns elegant literature and the fine arts, he was singularly full and accurate. In matters of taste he was cultivated, correct, and almost fastidious. Music was his delight, and he was equally versed in the science and the art. It was after the term of my pastorship that he developed his skill as an organist, but at a much earlier day he devoted himself for years to the gratuitous instruction of the choir; and though I have heard

many noted precentors, I can remember none who had greater power of adaptation and expression. Though his own voice was slender and uninviting, he long made his influence felt in rendering all that was musical subservient to the spirit of worship.

"Dr. Ewing professed his faith in Christ during my years of ministry. His early religious exercises were very deep and searching, and the change of his affections and purposes was marked. He had peculiarities of temper and habit which kept him much aloof from general society, and thus abridged his influence. His likes and dislikes were strong, and if he had more readily believed the good will of others towards himself, he would have been more useful and more happy. I should sin against truth if I did not say that towards me he was for forty years a warm, forbearing, tender, and at times most efficient friend. I have been with him at junctures when it was impossible not to detect, through all his extraordinary reserve, the workings of a heart agitated and swayed by gracious principle.

"Samuel L. Southard was also a member of the congregation, and a friend of all that promised its good. More sprightly and versatile than Mr. Ewing, he resembled a tropical tree of rapid growth. Few men ever attained earlier celebrity in New-Jersey. This perhaps tended to produce a certain character which showed itself in good-natured egotism. Mr. Southard was a man of genius and eloquence, who made great impressions on a first interview, or by a single argument. He loved society, and shone in company. His entertainments will be long remembered by the associates of his youth. It is not my

province to speak of his great efforts at the bar; he was always named after Stockton, Johnson, and Ewing, and with Frelinghuysen, Williamson, Wood and their coëvals. Having been bred under the discipline of Dr. Finley, at Baskingridge, he was thoroughly versed in Presbyterian doctrine and ways; loving and preferring this branch of the Church to the day of his death. Defection from its ranks gave him sincere grief, as I am ready more largely to attest, if need be. In those days of his prime, Mr. Southard was greatly under the salutary influence of the Chief Justice, who was his Mentor; I think he felt the loss of this great man in some important points. So earnestly and even tenderly did he yield himself to divine impressions, that his friends confidently expected that he would become a communicant. During this period he was an ardent advocate of the Temperance Society, then in its early stage. I remember attending a meeting at Lawrenceville, in company with my learned friend, the present Chief Justice, where Mr. Southard, following Mr. Frelinghuysen, made an impassioned address in favor of abstinence and the pledge. In regard to religious things, the change to Washington did not tend to increased solemnity or zeal. I have been informed that Mr. Southard felt the deep impression of divine truth at the close of his days. As a young minister, I received from him the affectionate forbearance of an elder brother, and I shall always cherish his memory with love.

"Before closing this hurried letter of reminiscences, let me note that the ruling elders during my day were Robert McNeely, Nathaniel Burrowes, John Voorhees, and Samuel Brearley, all good and believing men, and all

gone to the other world. The Trustees were Messrs. Rose, Chambers, Ewing, Burroughs, and Fish; of whom likewise all are gone, except my esteemed friends, Messrs. Burroughs and Fish.

"Before taking my pen from the paper, let it be permitted to me to give expression to a feeling of personal regard to the late Mrs. Rice and her family, under whose roof my years of early ministry in Trenton were passed. She was a woman of a meek and quiet spirit, and was honored and beloved, during a long life, for the benignity of her temper and the kindliness of her words. Juliette Rice, her daughter, was a person who in some circumstances would have become distinguished. To sincere piety she added more than usual cultivation, delicacy of taste, refinement of manners, and a balance of good qualities which elevated her to a place among the most accomplished and even the exclusive. Under the disadvantage of a deafness almost total, and a pulmonary disease which slowly wasted her away, she manifested a sweet, uncomplaining disposition, and a steady faith in Christ. Amidst the kindnesses of these good people I spent the first months of my married life, and welcomed the tender mercies of God in our first-born son, long since taken to be with the Lord.

"Thus I end my rambling letter, (which, by-the-by, is only the last article of an epistolary series extending through forty years,) and am, as always,

"Your faithful friend,

"James W. Alexander.

"The Rev. Dr. Hall."

For nearly two years after Mr. Alexander's removal the pulpit was supplied by transient ministers. Among those who were most frequently engaged were the Rev. Asahel Nettleton and Truman Osborn. The minutes of Presbytery for 1834 and 1835 show that efforts were then proposed by some of the congregation for enlarging the means of religious instruction, either by employing an Evangelist or the erection of a Free Church. An "Evangelical Society" had been formed which sustained Mr. Osborn as a missionary in Trenton, Morrisville, and Millham, but after his departure, and the settlement of a pastor, things gradually returned to their old channel.

On the sixteenth March, 1834, the Rev. Symmes C. Henry, of Cranbury, was chosen pastor, but he declined the call. On the sixth of June following, the Rev. John William Yeomans was elected, being then pastor of a Congregational Church in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Dr. Yeomans is a graduate of Williams College, (1824,) and of the Andover Seminary. He was duly received by Presbytery, and on the seventh October, 1834, was installed. In that service the Rev. David Comfort presided, the Rev. J.

W. Alexander preached, (from 1 Cor. 11 : 1,) and Drs. B. H. Rice and A. Alexander gave the charges. The actual ministry of Dr. Yeomans is to be dated from September 11, 1834, to June 1, 1841, when he entered on the Presidency of Lafayette College, Pennsylvania. To his energy and influence not less than to the enterprise of the congregation is owing the erection of the commodious church which is now occupied by the congregation. The corner-stone of the new building was laid May 2, 1839, and services were held for the first time on the Lord's day, January 19, 1840.* On the afternoon of that day Dr. How preached, and Dr. A. Alexander administered the Lord's Supper. On that occasion also three elders and three deacons were ordained.† In the evening the Rev. J. W. Alexander preached.

* The preceding structures stood upon the western part of the church lot. The present one was placed in the central part. The dimensions are one hundred and four feet length; sixty-two feet breadth; steeple one hundred and twenty feet. Dr. Yeomans' dedication sermon was published. For the very accurate and artistic sketch of the church from which the frontispiece was engraved, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. J. Fletcher Street, of the Normal School.

† The elders were James Pollock, Aaron A. Hutchinson, and Francis A. Ewing, M.D. The deacons were John A. Hutchinson, Benjamin S. Disbrow, and Joseph G. Brearley.

In the year 1836 Thomas J. Stryker and Stacy G. Potts were elected and ordained elders.

In the April of 1837 a church was organized by a committee of Presbytery in Bloomsbury, then a suburb of Trenton, and the place of worship was the building erected by those who followed the Rev. Wm. Boswell in his secession from the regular Baptist denomination, and which was vacated upon his death in 1833. This mission was diligently conducted for a year by the Rev. Charles Webster,* beginning on the second Sabbath of 1837, and was then suspended until the present "Second Church" of Trenton was formed there.

Dr. Yeomans had a seat in the General Assembly of 1837, when the decisive acts were adopted which resulted in the division familiarly known as the Old School and New School—the latter portion forming a distinct organization. No disturbance was produced in the Trenton congregation by this revolution; with entire unity it remained in the ancient fraternity of

* "I preached in the church," says Mr. Webster in a letter written at my request, "in the morning and evening; in the afternoon attended the Sabbath-school. Once a month I took my turn of preaching in the State prison and visiting the cells. One evening in the week I lectured at private houses in Bloomsbury, Lamberton, or Mill Hill, and occasionally at Morrisville (on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware) in the afternoon."

the churches of the New-Brunswick Presbytery. In the letter written at my solicitation, Dr. Yeomans, after mentioning separately the elders already introduced in this chapter as composing the session of his time, thus proceeds:

"As then constituted, the session was in all respects the most interesting one I have ever known. It was a great pleasure and benefit to be with them in our frequent meetings, (sometimes held every week.) I remember those brethren with grateful respect and love, and for their services in the Church can commend them, as I have always done, for an example.

"The erection of the new house of worship was an interesting occasion for that congregation. The whole process was conducted in a manner and spirit unusually commendable. The congregation felt the awakening enterprise of their venerable city, and the moment the business of the place showed signs of revival, they were ready to conduct the motion into their measures for religious improvement. The building of the church fairly led the way to the construction of tasteful architecture in the place. The Court-House was built at the same time, but the draft of the Church helped to determine the form of that; and the row of cottages beyond the canal, and some other handsome dwellings which followed in the course of improvement, were built by the men who came there to build the church.

"I shall never forget the cordial and earnest way the

Trustees and others of the congregation, and indeed the whole body, engaged in the work. I have scarcely known a people who resolved to appropriate so much to the erection of a house of worship in proportion to their means at the time. They went through the work without one case of personal disaffection arising out of their proceedings, and their zeal and labor have since proved a great blessing to them and to others. It is also a gratification to remember the harmony and energy with which, when they got ready, they paid off the debt; and with what liberality they have supported their minister, and contributed to the extension of Christian influence in their growing and important city. I consider the history of that house of worship, from first to last, a very great credit to the congregation.

"We had during my ministry there no occasion which was signalized as a revival. The accessions to full communion were, if I rightly remember, more or less at every sacramental celebration of the Supper. Sometimes, perhaps the records will show, twenty or thirty in a year; perhaps even on a single occasion twenty.*

"It was probably one of the defects in my labors there, that they were attended with so few striking results. But many are far more decisive than I am inclined to be, in aiming at the kind of awakenings which are frequent in some parts of the Church, and published with so much avidity in the papers. But the fact in the history of my ministry in Trenton is as stated above. The duties of the

* The total additions to the communion in Dr. Yeomans' pastorate were seventy-two on examination, eighty-five on certificate.

pulpit, though very imperfect, were performed with very few interruptions through the period; and the excellent spirit and active coöperation of the session were a great help to the efficacy of the divine ordinances.

"Among the signs of improvement which appeared during that term, was that of increased attention to the baptism and religious training of children. The subject, when brought up in public instruction and private conversation, appeared acceptable and profitable. In following up the labors of Brother Alexander there, I recollect no evidence of improvement with more interest than that. As to general progress, the growing activity and intelligence of the leading members of the congregation, together with the increase of their number, would enable any discerning observer to foresee the progress made there since, under the incitements of a growing population, and of expanding business, and the impulse and guidance of a faithful and effective ministry."

On the third May, 1841, the congregation unanimously resolved to recall Dr. Alexander, who was still in the professorship in the College at Princeton, to which he had been transferred from his charge in Trenton; but upon being assured that it would not be in his power to comply, it was prosecuted no further. A new election on the last day of May resulted in the choice of Mr. John Hall, of Philadelphia, who immediately took charge of the congregation,

and was both ordained and installed August 11, 1841. The Rev. Dr. Cooley presided, Dr. Yeomans preached, (Ephesians 4 : 11,*) Dr. J. W. Alexander and Dr. S. C. Henry gave the charges.

The incidents of the last eighteen years' history of the Church in Trenton must be despatched in a few particulars.

The statistics are as follows:

Communicants received on examination,	217
" " by certificate,	262
Present number of communicants,	312
Infants baptized,	290
Adults "	114
Funerals,	335
Marriages,	216

The Brick Church, already spoken of as once occupied by Mr. Boswell's congregation, was purchased, refitted, and opened for public worship with a sermon by Professor Albert B. Dod, July 24, 1842. The Second Presbyterian Church was organized there November 15, 1842, and the Rev. Baynard R. Hall was its first stated supply. The Rev. Daniel Deruelle, of Pennsyl-

* The substance of the sermon (on " the pastoral office") appeared in the *Biblical Repertory* for January, 1842.

vania, was installed its pastor May 21, 1843. In September of the same year a small lecture-room was built adjoining that church. Mr. Deruelle's pastoral relation was dissolved February 1, 1848, and on the ninth October the Rev. Ansley D. White, of Indiana, was installed. In 1851 the church was enlarged to twice its original size, and was reöpened September 27. In 1857 a spacious building was erected, of two stories, for a lecture-room and Sunday-schools. The church was organized with eleven members from the First Church; the present number of communicants is two hundred and sixty-five.

In the year 1846 there remained a debt of six thousand seven hundred dollars for the building of the First Church. By a general subscription in the congregation at the close of that year, the entire sum was at once obtained, and all obligations cancelled.

In April, 1849, thirteen communicants of the First Church, and four from other churches, were organized as the Third Church. Twenty-five others from the parent body were soon afterwards added. The new congregation first met for public worship June 17, 1849. The Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler was installed pastor

October 3, 1849, and their house of worship was opened November 7, 1850. Mr. Cuyler resigned the charge April 27, 1853, and the Rev. Jacob Kirkpatrick, Jr., was ordained, and installed November 3, 1853. The decline of his health compelled his resignation February 2, 1858. The communicants then numbered about two hundred. A parsonage was provided during Mr. Kirkpatrick's incumbency. On the eighth of February, 1859, the Rev. Henry B. Chapin, of Ohio, was installed as pastor.

A mission chapel, built (at the cost of twenty-two hundred dollars) in the northern extremity of the city, on ground given by Mr. John S. Chambers, was opened for religious services January 8, 1854, and a Sunday-school organized. Worship was conducted on the afternoons of the Sabbath by the pastor of the First Church, with occasional assistance, until May, 1856, when Mr. John H. Sargent served statedly as the chaplain for one year. No successor has yet been found.

In 1853 the First Church was extensively improved by the building of an iron fence and laying a stone pavement along the entire front of the lot, introducing gas, painting the interior walls,

and other repairs, at a cost of thirty-four hundred dollars, mostly defrayed by private subscription. While the work was in progress, the congregation worshipped with the Third Church, then without a pastor.

On the sixth November, 1858, the FOURTH Church was organized, with a few members from the First, and sixty from the Third Church. On the twenty-fifth February, 1859, the Rev. EDWARD D. YEOMANS, son of Dr. John W. Yeomans, was installed their pastor.

The following ruling elders have been elected and ordained, in the First Church, during the present pastorate:

Samuel Roberts, Jonathan Fisk, } January 16, 1846.
George S. Green, Augustus G. Richey, } June 6, 1858.

NOTES.

I.

NICHOLAS JACQUES EMANUEL DE BELLEVILLE was born at Metz, France, in 1753; studied medicine under his father; passed seven years in the schools and hospitals of Paris,* and came to Trenton under the circumstances re-

* Dr. Belleville was in Paris in 1774, when Louis XVI. came to the throne, and used to tell of his hearing the populace cry, (in allusion to

lated in the following note furnished to me by Philemon Dickinson, Esq., as heard from the Doctor's lips:

"He happened to be, in the spring of 1777, on a visit to a gentleman, an acquaintance of his father, who lived in the south of France, whither he usually repaired in the winter season, on account of the delicate state of his health. He there met and was introduced to Count Pulaski, who had just come from Italy, where he had been obliged to take refuge on account of the active part he bore in the well-known attempt to restore the liberties of Poland.

"The Count was then on the eve of his departure for this country, and having taken a liking for the Doctor, invited him to accompany him. For some time he hesitated, by reason of his want of money, but the gentleman at whose house he was, when informed of this fact, told him if a hundred guineas would be sufficient for his purpose he would supply him, and that his father could reimburse him. He further supplied him with every thing necessary for the voyage, and on the last day of May, 1777, he left Paris, and embarked at Nantes on the ninth of June, for the United States.

"The vessel in which he sailed was a sloop-of-war, mounting fourteen guns, with a crew of one hundred and five men. She had on board about sixteen hundred stand of arms for the American troops. On the twenty-second July they arrived in Massachusetts, and the first town he entered was Salem, where he staid some days and afterwards went to Boston.

the tradition of Henry IVth's wish that every peasant might have a fowl for his pot-pie,) "*Poule-au-pot! poule-au-pot!*"

"He attended the Count, in the capacity of surgeon, in the different parts of the country to which he went for the purpose of recruiting a legion, which the Count was authorized to raise by the Provincial Congress.

"Pulaski remained some time at Trenton for that purpose, where Belleville became acquainted with Dr. Bryant, a physician of eminence, who took a fancy to him, treated him kindly, and endeavored to persuade him to give up the army and settle in Trenton; offering to do all in his power to introduce him into practice. Dr. Belleville, however, attended Pulaski to the South, and while stationed there he received a pressing letter from his friend, Dr. Bryant, repeating his offer, and urging his leaving the army; representing the improbability of his succeeding there so well as by settling down to the practice of his profession. This letter he showed to Pulaski, who told him it was not his wish to stand in the way of his advancement, and if he thought he could do better, to accept the offer of Dr. Bryant. He did so, and in the fall of 1778 took up his residence in Trenton, where he remained until his death."

Dr. Belleville was eminent in his profession, and highly esteemed for his social qualities. He was sometimes called to attend the exiled King of Spain at Bordentown, and was his almoner on at least one occasion, (February 5, 1831,) when the Female Benevolent Society of Trenton acknowledged fifty dollars "from the Count de Survilliers, by Dr. Belleville." Mrs. Belleville was a communicant; the Doctor was a pew-holder and occasional attendant, but was too fond of his elegant edition of Voltaire to

relish the Gospel. He was buried in our church-yard, and one of his pupils, Dr. F. A. Ewing, in addition to a discriminating obituary in the State Gazette of Dec. 24, 1831, furnished the inscription for his tomb:

"This stone covers the remains of Dr. NICHOLAS BELLEVILLE. Born and educated in France; for fifty-four years an inhabitant of this city. A patriot warmly attached to the principles of liberty; a physician eminently learned and successful; a man of scrupulous and unblemished integrity. On the seventeenth day of December, A.D. 1831, at the age of seventy-nine years, he closed a life of honor and usefulness; by all respected, esteemed, lamented."

II.

For a more extended notice of Chief Justice CHARLES EWING, than I can find room for now, I must refer to the eulogy, pronounced in the church at the united request of the Council of Trenton and the bench and bar of the State, by his intimate friend, Governor Southard, and to the memoir furnished by the same hand to Longacre's "National Portrait Gallery."* He was born July 8, 1780; prepared for college at the Trenton Academy, when it was under Mr. Armstrong's direction; took the first honor at Princeton College at his graduation in 1798; read law under Mr. Leake, (p. 399,) and was admitted to the bar in 1802. The next year he was married to a daughter of the Rev. James F. Armstrong. He was appointed Chief-Justice

* There is also an extended notice of his character in an address by Lucius H. Stockton, published in the *New-Jersey Gazette*, Sept. 15, 1832.

in October, 1824, and reäppointed in 1831. He died of cholera, August 5, 1832. Mr. Ewing was a punctual and leading member of the board of Trustees, and of the congregation, from his election, April, 1814, till his sudden death. Mr. Southard declared in his public discourse that he was in the habit of holding up the entire character of the Chief-Justice as a model for aspirants after professional honors, and said that "his exposition of the system of jury-trial, before the Literary and Philosophical Society of New-Jersey, [Jan. 28, 1826,] is the most finished and beautiful exhibition of its merits which is to be found, in the same compass, in our language." He drew his friend's character in the following terms, as they are now read on his monument:

"Beneath this marble rest the mortal remains of Charles Ewing, LL.D., Chief-Justice of the State of New-Jersey.

"In intellect, vigorous and discriminating. In industry, assiduous and persevering. In integrity, pure and incorruptible. In manners, affable, dignified, and polished. In morals, spotless. A profound jurist and upright magistrate. An accomplished scholar, and patron of literature and science. The advocate and supporter of benevolent institutions. He won, in an eminent degree, the respect, the love, and confidence of his fellow-citizens. Happy in his domestic relation, home was the theatre of his most endearing virtues, and the sphere in which he loved to move. He reverenced the doctrines and practised the precepts of the Christian religion. In the vigor of his mental and bodily powers, surrounded by blessings, cheered by the approbation of his fellow-men, with an ex-

tended prospect of service and usefulness before him, he was attacked with a violent disease, which suddenly terminated his life on the fifth day of August, A.D. 1832, in the 53d year of his age."

III.

The Rev. Wm. Boswell had been for sixteen years pastor of the Baptist congregation of Trenton and Lamberton, when (1823) he issued an address to its members, on account of his adoption of some new tenets, which leaned to Swedenborgianism. His address was answered by a longer letter from the Rev. John Burtt, (first editor of "The Presbyterian" in Philadelphia,) who was then preaching in Trenton. Mr. Boswell died June 10, 1833, at the age of fifty-seven. His grave is in the rear of the building where he last preached—now the Second Presbyterian Church. Near to it is that of another prominent Baptist minister, the Rev. Burgess Allison, D.D., who died on a visit to Trenton, February, 20, 1827.

The First Baptist Church of Lamberton was opened November 26, 1803; when the sermon was preached by Dr. Staughton.

Mr. Boswell's was called "The Reformed General Baptist Meeting-House." It was built (of brick) in eleven weeks, and was opened October 19, 1823. The dimensions were fifty-four feet by forty.

IV.

Thomas Wilson, an intelligent colored man, was received to our communion on certificate from New-York, November, 1839. He was a shoemaker, but was bent

upon becoming qualified as a missionary in Liberia. For this purpose he removed to Easton, and studied under the direction of his late pastor, the President of the College. He sailed for Africa, as a missionary of our Board, in April, 1843. His wife and infant died soon after their arrival, and a second child not long afterwards. Wilson's station was Sinoe, where he opened a day-school and Sunday-school, and preached every week. In 1845 he opened a small building as a church, and undertook to teach a school of native children in a neighboring town, and an evening school of adult colonists. He persevered manfully through great hardships till September 8, 1846, when he died of an illness of a few days. In the artless language of one of his children who sent me the intelligence: "I hope he is resting, for when he did labor he labored hard, and suffered much from want of food and clothing." The Annual Report of the Board in the next year, says: "His death is a great loss to the Church and to Africa. His experience and knowledge, his industry and perseverance, fitted him for usefulness in this important sphere of labor."

Another colored member of our church, Elymas P. Rogers, was ordained by our Presbytery March 6, 1845, and is now pastor of a large congregation in Newark.

V.

By the will of Miss Jane Lowry, who died November, 1851, the sum of two hundred dollars and her pew were bequeathed for the benefit of the poor of the church. By the will of Mr. James Brearley, who also died November, 1851, the sum of five hundred dollars was left to the Trustees, without specific directions.

APPENDIX.

History of the Proposal to make Trenton the Capital of the United States.

In the notice of Doctor Cowell's will, on page 292, it was stated that one of his legacies was to the United States, in case Congress should make Lamberton—then a precinct of Trenton—the seat of the National Government. Although this gives the subject a very slender connection with the title of this volume, I depend on the local interest it possesses, to make acceptable what I have digested from the Journals of the Congress of the Confederation.

The Congresses before the Constitution held their sessions in different places, but principally in Philadelphia and New-York. In June, 1783, preparation was begun to select what was called a "permanent residence" for Congress, by appointing the first Monday of the following October, to take into consideration such offers as might be made from the places that aspired to that distinction. In the same month in which the resolution was passed by Congress, the Legislature of New-Jersey agreed to offer to yield to the United States, jurisdiction over any district to the extent of twenty miles square, and to grant £30,000 in specie for the purchase of lands and the erection of buildings.

On the sixth of October, 1783, the question was taken, "In which State buildings shall be provided and erected for the residence of Congress; beginning with New-Hampshire, and proceeding in the order in which they stand." Upon this vote all the States were successively negatived. On the next day a motion was made by Mr. Gerry, "That buildings for the use of Congress

be erected on the banks of the Delaware, near Trenton, or of the Potomac near Georgetown, provided a suitable district can be procured on one of the rivers aforesaid, for a federal town." By amendment the names of the towns were stricken out, and the rivers left; and it was finally resolved on that day, first, that the federal town should be erected on the banks of the Delaware; and then, that the site should be "near the falls," that is, near Trenton on the New-Jersey side, or in Pennsylvania on the opposite. A committee of five was appointed to view the respective situations, and report.

The question of locality now became a subject of agitation between the North and the South. On the day after the appointment of the Committee, a motion was made to reconsider the proceedings, "in order to fix on some other place that shall be more central, more favorable to the Union, and shall approach nearer to that justice which is due to the Southern States." This failed. On the tenth, a motion of Mr. Williamson, of North-Carolina, was unsuccessful, which proposed that the present Congress (then in session at Princeton) should adjourn at once to Philadelphia, sit there till June, and then adjourn to Trenton. A motion of Mr. Duane, of New-York, also failed, which called for an immediate adjournment to Trenton. On the eleventh, Mr. Ellery, of Rhode Island, moved for an adjournment to Annapolis till June, and then to meet at Trenton. The latter clause was stricken out, and the words, "for the place of their temporary residence," were joined to "Annapolis;" but the amended motion was lost.*

The selection of Trenton, or its immediate vicinity, seemed now to be most probable; but the minority against the Delaware location was so large and influential, that Mr. Gerry proposed as a compromise that Congress should have two residences, to be occu-

* "Trenton was next proposed, on which question the votes were divided by the river Delaware." "The vicinity of its falls is to become the future seat of the Federal Government, unless a conversion of some of the Eastern States can be effected." Madison to Randolph, October 13, 1783. Madison Papers, vol. i. 576.)

pied alternately; the one to be on the Delaware, as already determined, and the other on the Potomac, at or near Georgetown. On the twentieth, Mr. Gerry further proposed, that until the buildings on the Delaware and Potomac were prepared, the residence of Congress should be alternately in Trenton and Annapolis. On the twenty-first, Mr. Gerry's entire motion was adopted.*

In December, 1783, Congress met at Annapolis, and the question of the Federal city was reöpened. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Monroe endeavored to have Alexandria substituted for Georgetown, as the Southern capital, but Virginia was the only State that voted aye.†

Congress met in Trenton, November 1, 1784. On the tenth December, South-Carolina moved that: "It is expedient for Congress to adjourn from their present residence." This was negatived on the eleventh, and on the twentieth it was resolved to take measures for procuring suitable buildings for national purposes, and a sum, not exceeding $100,000, was appropriated for that object. It was also determined to be inexpedient to erect such buildings at more than one place at that time. Mr. Pinckney made an unsuccessful motion to have the arrangements for alternate sessions at Trenton and Annapolis repealed, and on the twenty-third December an ordinance was introduced, providing for the appointment of three commissioners, to lay out a district of not less than two, nor exceeding three miles square, on the banks of either side of the Delaware, not lower than Lamberton, nor more than six miles above it, for a Federal town.

The whole discussion was renewed on a motion for the appro-

* This act was the occasion of one of Judge Francis Hopkinson's humorous publications, in which, under the title of "Intelligence Extraordinary," he described the new mechanism of government as a pendulum vibrating between Annapolis and Trenton. (*Hopkinson's Works*, vol. i. 178.)

† August 22, 1784, a memorial was presented to the New-Jersey Senate from John Cox and others, citizens of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, praying that the ten miles square might be laid out on the Delaware, and furnishing the draft of such a tract.

priation. An effort was made to substitute Georgetown for Lamberton, but the ordinance was finally adopted that the Commissioners, without delay, should have the Federal city laid out in some district not more than eight miles above or below the lower falls of the Delaware; and enter into contracts for erecting and completing, "in an elegant manner," a Capitol, houses for the President of Congress, and principal officers of the government, with a "due regard to the accommodation of the States with lots for houses for the use of their delegates respectively," and that Congress should hold its sessions in New-York until the public buildings were ready for their reception. The immediate outlay of the Commissioners was not to exceed $100,000. Congress adjourned on the day after the decision, after acknowledging the attentions of the Legislature of the State, and the exertions of the inhabitants of the town in providing the members with accommodations.*

The order of the day for February 8, 1785, was to elect Commissioners under the ordinance of December 23, 1784. Various efforts were made by the Southern delegates to delay the progress of the measure, but the majority persevered, and Philip Schuyler, Philemon Dickinson, and Robert Morris were elected Commissioners, and upon Mr. Schuyler's declining, John Brown was put in his place. None of these were members of Congress. Mr. Dickinson was an inhabitant of Trenton, and Mr. Morris had an estate on the opposite side of the Delaware, now the town of Morrisville.†

* The landholders near the falls were not insensible to their opportunity. In the New-Jersey Gazette of May, 1785, and many following months, Joseph Higbee offers for sale "a valuable tract of land, containing three hundred acres, situate within three miles of Trenton, in the county of Burlington and township of Nottingham, and within a mile of Lamberton, where it is expected the Federal town will be built."

† Washington foresaw the disadvantages of Lamberton. On the day of the above resolution, he wrote from Mount Vernon, to the President of Congress, in a private letter: "By the time your Federal buildings on the banks of the Delaware, along the point of a triangle, are fit for the reception of Congress, it will be found that they are very improperly placed for the seat of the empire, and will have to undergo a second erection in a more convenient one." (*Writings*, vol. ix. 95.)

When the first appropriation to the Commissioners was called for by the Committee of Supplies, (April 5, 1785,)—"Federal buildings, $30,000"—Mr. Grayson, of Virginia, moved its refusal, but he was overruled. Then, on motion of Mr. Pinckney, that vote was reconsidered, and the report was recommitted. Here the matter rested until the twenty-second September, when the appropriation of $30,000 coming before the house, Mr. Gerry moved to make it the whole sum of $100,000, but none of the States except Massachusetts and New-Jersey voted for it; upon which, on motion of Mr. Hardy, of Virginia, the item was entirely stricken out of the bill, which was a virtual repeal of the ordinance.

The question of location was not revived after this until May 10, 1787, when Mr. Lee, of Virginia, moved that the Treasury Board take measures for erecting public buildings, for the accommodation of Congress, at Georgetown on the Potomac. This was lost.

In a few months (September, 1787) the Constitution of the United States was adopted, and the Congress of the Confederation expired. The Constitution contained a provision implying that the seat of Government should be placed in a district "not exceeding ten miles square," which should be ceded to the exclusive legislation of Congress. Offers came in from all quarters. The Convention of New-Jersey, which ratified the Constitution, recommended to the Legislature to enter into the competition for the Capital, which they did by a vote, September 9, 1788, offering the requisite territory.

In September, 1789, Mr. Boudinot, in the House of Representatives, once more proposed "the banks of either side of the river Delaware, not more than eight miles above or below the lower falls," but it failed by a vote of four to forty-six; and so Dr. Cowell's legacy to the United States lapsed.

I may close the history by stating that the main question was finally settled by a compromise between the North and the South.

The Northern States being anxious for the assumption of the debts of the several States by the General Government, and the Southern States being opposed to that measure, and the two sections being in like manner on opposite sides as to the locality of the Capital, there was a mutual bargaining of votes. The scheme is said to have originated with Robert Morris and Alexander Hamilton, (Secretary of the Treasury,) and consummated at the dinner-table of Mr. Jefferson (Secretary of State) by Messrs. White* and Lee, of Virginia, who agreed to change their votes on the assumption question, in consideration of Morris and Hamilton undertaking to effect a corresponding change in the Northern votes for the Capital; accordingly, the Assumption measure passed the House by a vote of thirty-four to twenty-eight, and the Potomac site by thirty-two to twenty-nine.† In July, 1790, it was determined to have the seat of Government on the Potomac, and in 1791, Washington selected the spot which now bears his name. According to the terms of the act, Congress remained in Philadelphia until December, 1800.‡

DEED OF BASSE AND REVEL.

REFERRED TO ON PP. 29–30.

To all people to whom these Presents shall come:

The Honorable Jeremiah Basse, Esq., Governor of the Provinces of East and West-Jersey, and Thomas Revel, of the town and

* "With a revulsion of stomach almost convulsive," says Jefferson in his *Ana.*

† Hildreth's United States, vol. iv. 210–216. Mr. Jefferson said in 1818 that he was "most ignorantly and innocently made to hold the candle" in this game, (Ana., Works, vol. ix. p. 92;) and again, "I was duped into it by the Secretary of the Treasury, and made a tool for forwarding his schemes, and of all the errors of my political life, this has occasioned me the deepest regret." (Letter quoted in Hildreth, vol. iv. 363.)

‡ "We are to remove before the first of December to Philadelphia, and, if we live so long, in ten years to the Indian place with the long name on the Potomac." [Conococheague.] (*Oliver Wolcott, July* 28, 1790. *Gibbs' Federal Administrations*, ch. ii.)

county of Burlington, in the Province of West New-Jersey, Gentleman, Agents for the Honorable the West-Jersey Society in England, send greeting:

Know ye that we, the said Jeremiah Basse and Thomas Revel, (as agents as aforesaid,) for the accommodation and service of the inhabitants of the township of Maidenhead, within the liberties or precincts of the said county of Burlington, and the inhabitants near adjacent, (being purchasers of the said Society's lands there,) for the erecting of a meeting-house, and for burying-ground and school-house, and land suitable for the same, for and in consideration of five shillings to them, the said agents, or one of them in hand paid for the use of the said Society by Ralph Hunt and John Bainbridge, of Maidenhead aforesaid, as well for themselves as by the appointment and on the behalf of the rest of the inhabitants of said township, at or before the sealing hereof, whereof and wherewith the said agents do hereby acknowledge themselves fully satisfied and paid on behalf aforesaid, they, the said Jeremiah Basse and Thomas Revel, have given, granted, and sold, aliened, enfeoffed, and confirmed, and by these presents, on behalf of the said Society, do fully and absolutely give, grant, and sell, alien, enfeoff, and confirm unto the said Ralph Hunt, and John Bainbridge, and Johannes Laurenson, Wm. Hixson, John Bryerly, Samuel Hunt, Theoph. Phillips, Jonathan Davis, Thos. Smith, Jasper Smith, Thos. Coleman, Benjamin Hardin, Wm. Akers, Robert Lannen, Philip Phillips, Joshua Andris, Samuel Davis, Elnathan Davis, Enoch Andris, Cornelius Andris, James Price, John Runion, Thos. Runion, Hezekiah Benham, Benjamin Maple, Lawrence Updike, Joseph Sackett, and Edward Hunt, all of Maidenhead aforesaid, one hundred acres of land, already taken up, laid forth, and surveyed, within said Society's tract of land above the falls, commonly called the fifteen thousand acres, in the township of Maidenhead aforesaid, for the use aforesaid; together with all and every the ways, easements, profits, commodities, hereditaments, and appurtenances to the said one hundred acres of land

belonging or appertaining, and all the estate, right, title, interest, possession, property, claim, and demand whatsoever, as well of the said Jeremiah Basse and Thomas Revel (as agents as aforesaid) as of the said Society in law and equity, and either of them of, in, or unto the said one hundred acres of land and granted premises belonging or appertaining; and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders of the same and of every part thereof. To have and to hold the said one hundred acres of land and granted premises, and every part and parcel thereof, with the appurtenances, unto the aforesaid persons particularly mentioned, and to their heirs and successors forever, as well to the only proper use and behoof of them the said persons particularly mentioned as abovesaid, as to all and every other, the inhabitants of the said township aforesaid, and parts adjacent, who are or shall be purchasers of the aforesaid Society's lands, and to the heirs, assigns, and successors of them and every of them forevermore; to be holden for, by, and under the quit rents thereout issuing unto our Sovereign Lord, the King, and his heirs and successors, and the arrears thereof, (if any be.)

In witness whereof the said Jeremiah Basse and Thomas Revel, in the name and on the behalf of the said Society, have hereunto set their hands and seals the eighteenth day of March, Anno Dom. $169\frac{3}{9}$, Annoq. R. R. Gulielm. tertii Angl. etc., undecimo.

J. Basse, (L.S.)
Thos. Revel. (L.S.)

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

Jno. Tatham,
Nath. Cortland, Justice.
Joseph Revel.

A true copy of a deed recorded in liber B, No. 2, page 655.

Thos. S. Allison,
Sec. of State.

It will be seen from the above that the name of *Elnathan Davis* was omitted on p. 30.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 24. Smith's language, when he mentions the death of Wm. Trent, Dec. 29, 1724, is: "Being a large trader at Trenton, when that place was laid out for a town, it from him took its name, being before significantly called Little-Worth." (History of New-Jersey, chap. xxii.)

In 1726 the Legislature granted to James, son of Wm. Trent the exclusive use of the Delaware for a ferry, "two miles above and two below the falls."

Smith's History, under date of 1765, says: "The courts are held at Trenton, a place of concourse and lively trade. It stands at the head of the tide, and in a high, pleasant situation. The inhabitants have a public library. Of places of worship, [in Hunterdon county,] the Presbyterians are nine, the Low Dutch do. one, German do. one, Episcopalians three, Quakers two, Baptists two."

In a letter from Wm. Franklin (afterwards Governor) to his father, Burlington, June 10, 1767, he says: "Governor Wentworth [of New-Hampshire] visited me on his journey home, and lay a night at my house. I next morning accompanied him as far as *Trenton Falls*, where we spent the day a fishing, and supped together." (*Franklin's Correspondence, by Duane*, p 35.)

"The first falls in Delaware river in Trent Town are opposite to the forty-seventh mile of this divisional line"—that is, Lawrence's line between East and West-Jersey, run in 1743, and starting from Little Egg Harbor. (*Douglass' Summary*, ii. 282.)

Page 27. The statement at the beginning of this page would be more exact by inserting, that by act of Assembly Jan. 22, 1709–10, Burlington county was made to include Maidenhead, Hopewell, and Amwell. The portion of Trenton, now above the Assanpink, was then in Hopewell. Hunterdon county, as set off in March, 1713–14, included what are now the counties of Morris,

Sussex, Warren, and Hunterdon, and the present townships of Trenton, Ewing, Lawrence, and Hopewell, in Mercer county.

Pages 30 and 370. The inscription on Bainbridge's grave stands thus:

"In memory of
i
Iohn Banbridge who di'd Febry.
the 14th. 1732. In ye 75th Year of his Age."

The first *i* in his name was inserted after the name had been cut. The family name in England had another variety, as is found in an epigram quoted in Bayle's Dictionary, beginning—

"Doctor *Bam*bridge came from *Cam*bridge." (*Art. on John Bainbridge; born* 1582.)

Page 33. Richard Eayre. This is probably the same family that has since been better known as Eyres and Eyre. In our church-yard is the grave of "Sophia, relict of Capt. Richard Eyres, formerly of Philadelphia;" February 9, 1801: aged 60.

Page 51. For "*and* Pennington" read "*at* Pennington."

Page 66. "A letter from the people of Trenton, desiring care to be taken to procure a minister for them, was read; but nothing was or could be done to purpose about it at that time." *Minutes of Presbytery of Philadelphia*, September 19, 1734.

Page 76. In a letter of Gov. Belcher, June 8, 1751, it is said that "Mr. Thomas's interest in Trenton had been bought by Robert Lettice Hooper, for £2900 sterling—thought a good sale." (*Whitehead's Analytical Index*, p 273.)

Page 83. For the records and documents relative to the Schism, see Baird's *Assembly's Digest*, pp. 592–617. (Second edition.)

Pages 95 and 280. The "Analytical Index" gives the heads of several communications that passed between Governor Franklin and the royal authority in England, in reference to a petition of the Presbyterian clergy in New-Jersey, for a charter for the Widows' Fund. See Index under dates of May 11, 1772, Feb. 27, April 10, June 2, Oct. 18, 1773. The charter was granted.

PAGE 111. Wm. Morris and Richard Salter were Justices of the Peace at Trenton. Gov. Belcher (Dec. 1755) disapproved of their course in committing a number of Susquehannah and Delaware Indians to jail, as they belonged to Pennsylvania. *An. Index*, p. 330. See also p. 280. Nov. 2. Saltar was the name of the Treasurer of the State who, in October, 1803, was seized in his house in Trenton, and robbed of the public funds to the amount of eleven thousand dollars.

PAGE 163. The date of 1757, as that of the removal of the College, is incorrect. The explanation is on page 124.

PAGE 171. "Trenton, June 21, 1761," is the date of a letter, from John Brainerd to the Rev. Enoch Green, written "in a minute or two, as I passed through town"—printed in the *Presbyterian Magazine*, Oct. 1852.

PAGE 200. The Commissioners held their court at Trenton from November 12th to December 30th, 1782. Their decision, which was in favor of Pennsylvania, is known as "the Trenton decree." (*Hollister's History of the Lackawanna Valley*, p. 59.) The Commissioners were Wm. Whipple, Welcome Arnold, David Brearley, William C. Houston, and Cyrus Griffin. The Agents for Pennsylvania were Joseph Reed, Wm. Bradford, James Wilson, and Jona. D. Sergeant. Those for Connecticut were Eliphalet Dyer, Jesse Root, and Wm. Samuel Johnson. Henry Osborne was Solicitor.

PAGE 223. May 30, 1766, Mr. Spencer, as Moderator, signed the Synod's Pastoral Letter upon the repeal of the Stamp Act. The letter is given in Baird's *Digest*, p. 836.

PAGES 229 and 231. The name of SAMUEL HILL is in the graveyard; "born September 14. 1716: Died May 5. 1785." An adjoining stone is marked "SMITH HILL: Died January 9. 1822, aged 71 years."

PAGE 338. The result of the experience of such uses of the Church as are related on this and other pages, was given by Mr. Armstrong in his sermon at the opening of the new church in

1806. The position taken by him in the annexed paragraph is now an established rule of our Trustees. "I know," said the preacher, "that superstition has often conferred upon churches a degree of sanctity which can only belong to the object of all religious worship. But I know also that in the attempt to wipe out this vestige of superstition, too many have swept away with it that respect and veneration which we ought to cultivate for places where God has promised his presence to his people. The use of churches, for purposes not immediately connected with religious exercises, though innocent in itself, must have a tendency to weaken our respect and veneration for them. Civil, political, or literary scenes and exhibitions, mingled at intervals, though not on the Lord's day, will more or less weaken a sense of that seriousness and solemnity which is associated with a house set apart for the worship of God. Nothing, therefore, but urgent and unavoidable necessity should open the doors of our sanctuaries for exercises which are not immediately subservient to the purposes of religion or devotion."

Page 425. Add to the statistics that in the time included, 262 communicants were dismissed by certificate.

OFFICERS OF THE TRENTON CHURCH.

PASTORS.

1736–60	David Cowell.
1761–66	William Kirkpatrick, (Supply.)
1769–84	Elihu Spencer.
1786–1816	James F. Armstrong.
1816–21	Samuel B. How.
1821–24	William J. Armstrong.
1825–28	John Smith.
1829–33	James W. Alexander.
1834–41	John W. Yeomans.
1841–	John Hall.

ELDERS AND DEACONS.

1760 John Chambers,
John Hendrickson,
Stephen Rose.
1764 Joseph Green.
1765 Benjamin Yard,
Hezekiah Howell,
William Tucker.
1771 Samuel Hill, Ebenezer Cowell. } "Elders for town."
Jacob Carle, John Howell, Timothy Hendrickson. } "For the Old House."
Benjamin Smith. "Deacon for Trenton."
1777 Wm. Green, Joseph Green. } Deacons.
1782 John Howell. Deacon.
1787 Alexander Chambers,
Jacob Carle,
Isaac Smith,
Benjamin Smith,
Nathaniel Furman,
Ogden Woodruff.*
1797 Peter Gordon.
1806 Benjamin Hayden,†
1806 Nicholas Dubois.†
1815 Nathaniel Burrowes.
1817 John Beatty,
James Ewing,
Robert McNeely,
Joshua S. Anderson.‡
1829 John Voorhees,
Samuel Brearley.
1836 Thomas J. Stryker,
Stacy G. Potts.
1840 James Pollock,
Francis A. Ewing,
Aaron A. Hutchinson,
John A. Hutchinson, Benj. S. Disbrow, Joseph G. Brearley. } Deacons.
1846 Samuel Roberts,
Joseph G. Brearley,
Jonathan Fisk,
Stanhope S. Cooley, B. Wesley Titus. } Deacons.
1856 Andrew R. Titus, William J. Owens. } Deacons.
1858 George S. Green,
Augustus G. Richey.

* After several years' service, Mr. Woodruff was, at his own request, excused from acting; but at the wish of the Session he resumed his place Jan. 1, 1809. There was another suspension of his services in 1815-16, but he again took his seat and acted until his death, Nov. 4, 1821.

† Time of election is uncertain.

‡ Mr. Anderson's name appears in the Records of Session until 1828; after this he removed to Philadelphia, where he resided for some years, but returned to Trenton, and died here in June, 1840, in his sixtieth year.

TRUSTEES.

1756 David Cowell, Charles Clark, Andrew Reed, Arthur Howell, Joseph Yard, William Green, Alexander Chambers.
1760 Moore Furman, *vice* Reed.
1762 Obadiah Howell, *v.* Cowell.
1764 Wm. Kirkpatrick, James Cumine, Abraham Hunt. } *v.* A. Howell, Yard, and Furman.
1766 Joseph Reed, Jr., Samuel Tucker, Daniel Clark. } *v.* Cumine, Kirkpatrick, and Green.
1770 Elihu Spencer, *v.* Reed.
1771 Joseph Tindal, *v.* O. Howell.
1777 Benjamin Clark, *v.* C. Clark.
1780 Nathaniel Furman *v.* Tindal.
1783 Moore Furman, *v.* Spencer.
1786 Daniel Scudder, *v.* B. Clark.
1788 Isaac Smith, *v.* M. Furman.
1788 Bernard Hanlon, Hugh Runyon, Moore Furman, } *v.* D. Clark, N. Furman, & Scudder.
1789 Aaron D. Woodruff, Benjamin Smith, } *v.* Tucker, and Runyon.
1799 John Beatty, Alex. Chambers, Jr., } *v.* Hanlon, & A. Chambers, Sen.
1804 Peter Gordon, *v.* Beatty.
1808 James Ewing, Peter Hunt, } *v.* I. Smith & M. Furman.
1811 Benj. Hayden, *v.* P. Hunt.
Charles Ewing, *v.* B. Smith.
1818 S. L. Southard, *v.* Woodruff.
1822 John Beatty, *v.* A. Hunt.
1823 John S. Chambers, *v.* J. Ewing.
1825 Amos Hartley, Ebenezer P. Rose, Benjamin Fish, } *v.* Gordon, Southard, and A. Chambers.
1826 Charles Burroughs, *v.* Hartley.
1833 Henry W. Green, Armitage Green, Thos. J. Stryker. } *v.* C. Ewing, Hayden, and Beatty.
1838 Sam'l R. Hamilton, X. J. Maynard, } *v.* Chambers and Rose.
1856 Geo. S. Green, Wm. G. Cook. } *v.* A. Green & Maynard.

PASTORS OF EWING,

(OR TRENTON FIRST CHURCH,) SINCE SEPARATON FROM TOWN CHURCH.

1789–1821 Joseph Rue.
1823–1858 Eli F. Cooley.
1858–A. P. DeVeuve.

PASTORS OF LAWRENCEVILLE,

(SINCE SEPARATION.)

1807–28 Isaac V. Brown.	1836–48 Joseph Mahon.
1830–35 Henry Axtell.	1851– Abraham Gosman.

PASTORS OF PENNINGTON,

(OR FIRST CHURCH OF HOPEWELL.)

1737–85 John Guild.	1826–38 Benjamin Ogden.
1785–1826 Joseph Rue.	1838– George Hale.

ELDERS OF PENNINGTON,

(FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE PRESENT TIME.)

Enoch Armitage,
Reuben Armitage,
Ephraim Titus,
Thomas Baldwin,
Joseph Titus, (Sen.,)
Nathan Hunt,
John Smith,
Abraham Pittenger,
John Hunt,
John Muirheid,
John Carpenter,
Jesse Christopher,
Nathaniel Burrowes,
Charles Welling,
Stephen Burrowes,
Jacob Hoff,
Israel Hart,
John Hoff,
Enos Titus,
Daniel G. Howell,
Aaron Hart,
Enoch Ketcham,
Theophilus Furman,
Joab Titus,
Edmund Roberts,
Isaac Welling,
Joseph Titus,
Nathaniel R. Titus,
John Guild Muirheid,
Azariah Hunt,
John Smith Hunt,
Benjamin S. Holt,
John Ellis Burd,
Enoch Armitage Titus,
Wilson Blackwell.

DEACONS OF PENNINGTON.

Titus Hart,
Solomon Titus,
Edmund Roberts, (Sen.,)
John Davison,
Jacob Hoff,
Daniel G. Howell,

Aaron Hart,
Enoch Ketcham,
Benjamin Hoff,
Andrew Titus,
Reuben Titus,
Daniel H. Hart,
George Woolsey,
James Burroughs,
Jonathan Smith Hart.

TRUSTEES.

The earliest record of a meeting of the congregation of "The First Presbyterian Church of Hopewell," bears date September 30th, 1786; when the seven following were elected Trustees, namely:

John Welling, Jr.,
John Smith,
John Price Hunt,
Amos Moore,
Stephen Burrowes, Jr.
Nathaniel Hart,
Dr. Hezekiah Stiles Woodruff,

Subsequently, at various times, those named below have been elected:

Henry Baker,
John Muirheid,
John Vancleve,
Ephraim Woolsey, (Sen.,)
Enoch Hunt,
Stephen Titus,
Jesse Hunt,
Jesse Moore,
Stephen Hunt,
John Carpenter,
James Stevenson,
Enoch Ketcham,
Edmund Roberts,
Charles Welling,
George Muirheid,
Samuel Moore,
Aaron Hart,
Josiah Hart,
Andrew Titus,
Joseph Titus,
John Guild Muirheid,
Garret J. Schenck,
Christopher L. Wynkoop,
George Woolsey,
Asa Hunt,
Stephen B. Smith,
William D. Blackwell,
Jonathan S. Hart,
George R. Cook,
Ephraim Woolsey,
John Ellis Burd.

TITUSVILLE.

The Presbyterian congregation of Titusville was formed by a colony from the Pennington Church, consisting of thirty-five families, with eighty-five church-members. The church was organized on the tenth of January, 1844. The first pastor, the Rev. Garret Van Artsdalen, was ordained and installed May 22d, 1844. His pastoral relation was dissolved February 3d, 1852. On the fourteenth of September, 1852, the Rev. Jesse B. Davis was installed pastor, and still continues.

The names of the officers of this church and congregation are as follows:

ELDERS.

Joseph Titus,	John W. Burroughs,
Edmund Roberts,	John Welling,
Theophilus Hunt,	Theodore Hoff.

DEACON.

Isaac S. Nevius.

TRUSTEES.

Joseph Titus,	Philip T. Hunt,
Theodore Hoff,	John Johnson,
John Welling,	Isaac Farley.

FIRST MEMBERS OF NEW-BRUNSWICK PRESBYTERY.

At the end of the fifth volume of the Records of the Presbytery of New-Brunswick, is "A Catalogue of Ministers and Candidates who have been members of, or belong to, the Presbytery since the time of its first constitution, August 8, 1738." This Catalogue is arranged to give to each name the dates of license, ordination, and reception by Presbytery, from whence received, the pastoral charge, changes of charge, date of dismission, to what body dismissed, date of death, and miscellaneous items. The

Catalogue continued to February 1, 1859, numbers about five hundred and eighty. The "Candidates" on the list appear to be only such as were in due time licensed by this Presbytery. I wish I had room for the entire document, but must be satisfied with transcribing the first one hundred and seventeen names, (which embrace all to the year 1800,) with the date of ordination as far as given. The first five were the original members from the Presbytery of New-York:

Gilbert Tennent,
John Cross,
Eleazar Wales,
William Tennent,
Samuel Blair,
John Rowland, 1739,
James McCrea, 1741,
Wm. Robinson, 1741,
James Campbell, 1742,
Samuel Finley, 1742,
Wm. Tennent, Sen.,
Richard Treat,
Samuel Sackett, 1742,
David Youngs, 1742,
Charles McKnight, 1744,
Charles Beatty, 1743,
Wm. Dean,
Joseph Lamb,
Andrew Hunter, 1746,
Daniel Lawrence, 1747,
James Davenport,
Job Prudden, 1757,
Thomas Lewis,
John Campbell, 1750,
Timothy Allen,
Benjamin Chesnut, 1751,
Israel Reed, 1750,
Samuel Kennedy, 1751,
John Todd, 1751,
Eliab Byram,
Samuel Harker, 1752,
Henry Martin,
Conradus Wortz, 1752,
Benjamin Hait, 1755,
Jeremiah Halsey, 1767,
David Cowell,
John Guild,
Wm. Kirkpatrick, 1759,
Alex. Macwhorter, 1759,
Samuel Davies,
John Carmichael,
John Clark, 1761,
John Hanna, 1761,
Wm. Mills, 1762,
James Caldwell, 1760,
James Hunt, 1760,
Joseph Treat, 1762,
Amos Thompson, 1763,
Samuel Parkhurst, 1762,
Thomas Smith,
Elihu Spencer,
Wm. Tennent, Jr., 1762,
Enoch Green, 1762,
Jacob Ker, 1763,

James Lyon, 1764,
Nathan Ker, 1763,
David Caldwell, 1764,
John Rosbrough, 1764,
Francis Peppard,
Simon Williams,
Alexander Mitchel,
Jonathan Edwards, Jr.,
James Thompson,
John Blair,
Jacob Vanartsdalen, 1771,
John Witherspoon, 1745,
John Simpson,
Wm. Schenck, 1771,
Alexander McLean,
Caleb Wallace,
Moses Allen,
John Debow, 1775,
Oliver Reese,
James Gourlay,
Philip Stockton, 1778,
Hugh White,
John Warford, 1776,
George Faitoute, 1779,
John Woodhull, 1770,
Samuel S. Smith,
Peter Willson, 1784,
Joseph Rue, 1784,
Joseph Clark, 1784,
——— Russel,
Wm. Boyd, 1784.

Ira Condict, 1787,
James Muir,
Asa Dunham, 1787,
Walter Monteith, 1786,
James F. Armstrong,
Ashbel Green,
Thomas Grant, 1791,
Daniel [or Darius] O. Gillet,
Gilbert T. Snowden, 1790,
Adam Ramsay,
Cyrus Gildersleeve, 1792,
John J. Carle,
Charles D. Green,
Stephen Voorhees,
Samuel F. Snowden, 1795,
David Barclay, 1794,
Thomas Hickman,
Robert Finley, 1795,
Holloway Hunt, 1795,
Robert Russell,
Joseph Caldwell,
George Scott, 1798,
Wm. B. Sloan, 1789,
Andrew Hunter,
Geo. Spafford Woodhull, 1798,
Ebenezer Grant, 1800,
David Comfort, 1800,
M. Lerue Perrine, 1800,
John Cornell, 1800,
Nathaniel Harris.

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